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TITLE OF THESIS.....COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.....
.....PRACTICE AND THEORIES OF.....
.....COMMUNITY.....

UNIVERSITY.....OF ALBERTA.....

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED.....M.A. IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED.....1974.....

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NL-91 (10-68)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE AND THEORIES OF COMMUNITY

by

GORDON A. CHUTTER

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1974

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Community Development Practice and Theories of Community" submitted by Gordon A. Chutter in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Community Development.

George Kupfer
Supervisor

Richard Glade

Date OCTOBER 29, 1974

DEDICATION

"This is not the end
This is not even the beginning of the end
It is the end of the beginning."

Winston Churchill

To my wife, Lois, and to the One whose "lovingkindness is better than life" I dedicate this thesis and thank them for encouraging me to the "end of the beginning."

ABSTRACT

The central task of the present endeavour is to elaborate three practice theories of community development. The imperative for this elaboration arises from certain questions related to the practice and study of community development. In providing solution to these questions, the need arises for frameworks to organize that which is already known about community development. To meet this particular need the idea of using practice theories is introduced.

A practice theory consists of two interrelated sets of propositions. The first set encompasses descriptions and assumptions about a particular phenomenon (they have been called 'know why' propositions); the second set of propositions includes prescriptions on how to change situations and conditions, or directions for the alteration of a phenomenon. Each practice theory contains a set of 'if. . .then' statements which allows the practitioner to comprehend the implications for practice which arise from certain conceptualizations of a phenomenon. Each practice theory contains, then, both descriptions and implications.

There are many ways of building practice theories; the approach taken in this thesis has been to select three sociological perspectives of community and to link each of these with a corresponding strategy of community development. The three descriptions of community are provided by the sociologists Amos Hawley, Roland Warren, and Harold Kaufman, while the three strategies of development are formulations

of J.W. Eaton, a community development professional

Two sets of implications arise from the analysis for the profession of community development, including community development in its practice and research aspects. These include the implications which arise from the demonstration of the building practice theories and the effect that this has on community development and the implications which arise from the three practice theories presented here. The last chapter summarizes the thesis and offers a personal reflection.

PREFACE

This thesis represents a 'chapter' in an odyssey of inquiry which I embarked on in 1971. The inquiry is related to two questions: What is community development as distinct from other disciplines? How can I be an effective community developer? The odyssey began with my first classes in community development at the University of Edinburgh. A dominant theme running through all my exposure to community development is that community development means different things to different people. My classmates in Edinburgh included an adult educator from Hong Kong, a Nigerian army major, a community relations officer from Belfast, Ireland, and a 'hippie' from Haight-Ashbury (San Francisco). Each viewed the field of study differently.

Overall, the orientation at the University of Edinburgh was towards the 'enlightened colonization' of lesser developed countries and the emphasis was on acquiring skills to aid in the self development of these countries. The idea behind this programme was that it seemed preferable to send indigenous 'self help experts' to the Third World rather than British external affairs administrators. Community development had a great deal to do with adult education; it implied adult education in action. A great deal of the material presented had to do with skills in community development work, while general theory related to community and to community development was noticeably lacking.

My own desire for more theory and a North American urban

orientation led me to apply for the M.A. programme at the University of Alberta. Once again I enjoyed the company of an interesting assortment of colleagues; their interests were also related to the Third World but they were primarily oriented towards work in Canada. Books authored by Saul Alinsky, Germaine Greer, B.F. Skinner, Theodore Rozak, T.R. Batten, Arthur Koestler, Alvin Toffler, and Barbara Ward which appeared on students' desks with others on equally diverse topics, would not lead one to believe that these students (in contrast to others in other areas of study) had much in common.

The general objectives of both universities' programmes were to assist the individual in moving from knowledge acquisition as a student (generally in the social sciences) to knowledge application (as a prospective practitioner). But as the interests of the students were so diverse, the process of abstracting what was relevant in the large body of knowledge offered at a university to community development practice was largely left up to individual initiative. Theories --about community, about social change, about development -- were not lacking. But few formal attempts at integration took place; how successful the students were at integrating this knowledge varied with each individual according to his previous experience.

For my own part, experience in the field was lacking. My summer field placement as a researcher in a federal government department added little to my knowledge of community development in the field. What was needed in my own odyssey of inquiry was a way of integrating what I observed about community development practice and

what I learned from the various readings and discussions in class.

This thesis is a way by which I have chosen to begin to integrate what I know about community development. I intend to add to it and refine it as I gain experience. In my own odyssey, I feel particularly satisfied in working towards practice theories as a means of integration. I have, therefore, taken some pains to describe what practice theories are as well as their usefulness to community development as I see it.

This thesis presents approaches to the explication of three concepts of community and three related practice theories; the approach taken incorporates the knowledge about community development that is relevant to me. In taking this avenue I do not mean to exclude other ways of developing community development practice theories; rather, I invite students and practitioners to explicate their own practice theories by demonstrating the beginnings of my own integration process.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the members of my thesis committee, Rich Glade, Hayden Roberts and George Kupfer, who helped in transforming a few rough ideas into a usable text.

I wish to thank Gail Hays for her determination to succeed in transforming some rough notes into a readable script.

I wish to thank Evelyn Shapka for her work in editing the fourth draft.

I wish to thank Felicity Burns for typing up the finished product.

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INTRODUCTION

The central task of this thesis is to develop three practice theories of community development. The explication of these practice theories will demonstrate the possibility of constructing practice theories of community development and show the usefulness of such construction for the profession of community development, both in its practice and research aspects.

A practice theory consists of two interrelated sets of propositions. The first set encompasses descriptions and assumptions about a particular phenomenon (they have been called 'know why' propositions); the second set of propositions includes prescriptions on how to change situations and conditions, or directions for the alteration of a phenomenon. Each practice theory contains a set of 'if. . .then' statements which allows the practitioner to comprehend the implications for practice which arise from certain conceptualizations of a phenomenon. Each practice theory contains, then, both descriptions and implications.

There are many ways of building practice theories; the approach taken in this thesis has been to select three sociological perspectives of community and to link each of these with a corresponding strategy of community development. The three descriptions of community are provided by the sociologists Amos Hawley, Roland Warren, and Harold Kaufman, while the three strategies of development are formulations of J.W. Eaton, a community development professional.

The thesis advances as follows: the first two chapters introduce the ideas of theory and practice and outline their expected usefulness to community development. The analysis of this thesis is introduced in Chapter III and is carried out in Chapters IV through VIII. The three perspectives are each detailed (Chapters IV - VI) and then compared (Chapter VII). The purpose of Chapter VIII is to explore the assumptions about development contained in each of the perspectives and to outline the strategies that could emerge if these assumptions were carried into practice. Chapter IX discusses the implications arising from the analysis; these remarks include the implications which arise from the introduction of practice theories to community development and the implications which arise from the three practice theories presented here. The last chapter summarizes the thesis and offers a personal reflection.

CHAPTER I

THE IDEA OF THEORY AND IT'S PURPOSE

This chapter will introduce the idea of theory and show its usefulness to the study and practice of community development. The emphasis of this thesis is largely theoretical and before proceeding any further, it is well to explore the value of theory building, particularly within a discipline as pragmatic as community development. The first question to be asked is: "What is a theory?" According to Hall and Lindzey:

> A theory is an unsubstantiated hypothesis or a speculation concerning reality which is not yet definitely known to be so. When the theory is confirmed it becomes a fact.[1]

These authors further argue that a theory is:

> . . .a set of conventions created by the theorist. . . . There is no formula for fruitful theory construction any more than there is a formula for making enduring literary contributions.
>
> The fact that a theory is a conventional choice, rather than something that is inevitable or prescribed by known empirical relations, emphasizes the lack of appropriateness of truth or falsity as attributes to be ascribed to a theory. A theory is only useful or not useful and these qualities are defined. . .primarily in terms of how efficiently the theory can generate predictions or propositions concerning relevant events which turn out to be verified (true).[2]

What does a theory, in its ideal form, consist of? Quoting again from Hall and Lindzey:

> It should contain a cluster of relevant assumptions systematically related to each other and a set of empirical definitions . . . . The assumptions must be relevant in that they bear upon the empirical events with which the theory is concerned . . . . Ordinarily the nature of these assumptions represents the distinctive quality of the theory.[3]

The assumptions must be stated clearly and be explicitly related to the elements of the theory; that is, there must be rules for the systematic interaction between the assumptions and their embedded concepts.

> The empirical definitions (co-ordinating definitions) permit the more or less precise interaction of certain terms or concepts within the theory with empirical data. Thus, by means of these definitions, the theory at certain prescribed places comes into definite contact with reality or observational data. These definitions are frequently called operational definitions as they attempt to specify operations by means of which relevant variables or concepts can be measured.[4]

The next question to be asked is: "What does a theory do?" First, it leads to the collection or observation of relevant empirical relations not yet observed. The theory should lead to a systematic expansion of knowledge concerning the phenomena of interest and this expansion ideally should be mediated or stimulated by the derivation from the theory of specific empirical propositions that are subject to empirical test. A theory is accepted on the grounds of its utility which includes both verifiability -- the capacity of a theory to generate predictions which are confirmed when the relevant empirical data are collected -- and comprehensiveness -- which refers to the scope or completeness of these derivations.

In describing this function of a theory, Hall and Lindzey have said that:

> It is important to distinguish between what may be called the systematic and the heuristic generation of research. It is clear that in the ideal case the theory permits the derivation of specific testable propositions and these in turn lead to specific empirical studies. However, it is also manifest that many theories, for example Freud's and Darwin's, have had a

> great effect upon investigative paths without the mediation of explicit propositions. This capacity of a theory to generate research by suggesting ideas or even by arousing belief and resistance may be referred to as the heuristic influence of the theory.[5]

In addition to occasioning the observation of empirical relations, theories serve a second function -- that of permitting the incorporation of known empirical findings within a logically consistent and reasonably simple framework. A theory is a means of organizing and integrating all that is known concerning a related set of events.

A third function which a theory should serve is, as Hall and Lindzey have demonstrated, that of preventing the observer:

> . . .from being dazzled by the full blown complexity of natural or concrete events. The theory is a set of blinders and it tells its wearer that it is unnecessary for him to worry about all of the aspects of the event he is studying. To the untrained observer any reasonably complex behavioral event seems to offer countless different possible means for analyzing and describing the event -- and indeed it does. . . . The theory permits the observer to go about abstracting from the natural complexity in a systematic and efficient manner. Abstract and simplify he will, whether he uses a theory or not, but if he does not follow the guidelines of an explicit theory, the principles determining his view will be hidden in implicit assumptions and attitudes of which he is unaware. The theory specifies to the user a limited number of more or less definite dimensions, variables, or parameters which are of crucial importance. A useful theory will detail rather explicit instructions as to the kinds of data that should be collected in connection with a particular problem.[6]

In summary, then, a theory is an unsubstantiated hypothesis or set of hypotheses or speculations concerning a reality which is not yet substantiated. A theory is useful in terms of how efficiently it can generate predictions or propositions concerning relevant events.

A theory ought to contain a set of assumptions and a set of operational definitions which are related to one another and to the empirical events to be investigated. In addition to generating predictions or propositions, a theory can serve a second function of systematizing what is already known. Thirdly, theory helps an observer focus on particular aspects of a large or complex problem.

Having reviewed what a theory is and what it can do, it is appropriate to consider one contribution that theoretical construction can make for community development.

The Need for Theory Building in Community Development

One of the interesting challenges that confronts prospective graduates of the M.A. Program in Community Development is that there is a wide variety of employment possibilities. A central characteristic of most community development jobs, however, is that they involve helping a group of people articulate the actual form of their community and help them to move toward a desired form of community. What is done on a day-to-day basis in community development ought to show evidence of the transition from "what is" in a community to "what could be" or "what should be."

The community presents itself as an entity of many dimensions. With respect to formal education, the method most widely used for acquiring knowledge about community development is to have widespread familiarity with social science theory. However, a student might easily become confused in reading selected social scientific infor-

mation if it were not presented in such a way that the student could see its relevance to the practice of community development. In stating this it is assumed that the goal of studying community development is either to prepare oneself for practice or to increase the efficacy of one's practice.[7] If this is the goal of the student, then there will be two broad areas of literature that will be of concern to him: descriptions of community and prescriptions related to changing the community. The student will want to match these descriptions and prescriptions with what he sees around him.

As Hall and Lindzey point out, there is the danger that an observer of natural or concrete events may be dazzled by their "full blown complexity." This possibility exists for the student and is compounded by the possibility that he may be dazzled by the full blown complexity of the descriptions of phenomena and the prescriptions for their change. The idea that students of community development should have general knowledge of the social sciences as a means of learning about community development relies nearly entirely upon the individual student converting, in a disjointed way, social science theory into practice principles. Ernest Greenwood notes that:

> Inevitably, such conversion will be performed only sporadically. . .and the transformation of social science theory into practice will be governed by mere accident. . . . In consequence, no reliable knowledge is at hand to indicate how validly the social science theory has been transformed or transferred or how fruitful has been its application to practice.[8]

One reason this conversion is so different is that the theoretical formulations of the social sciences are too abstract in form to be

directly applicable to problems of practice. Each of the social sciences abstracts from man's behaviour one single differentiating aspect; moreover, each develops its own characteristic way of conceptualizing the world and evokes its own set of verbal symbols for communicating its concepts. The result is that there are as many specialized terminologies as there are separate social sciences, and this poses a communication problem. This is not to argue against the acquiring of a social science background as a preface to community development practice. Somehow, though, a student needs to grasp how each of these social sciences is relevant to community development practice.

What is suggested here is that a group of theories would be helpful in providing the framework for abstracting from the social sciences that which is relevant to community development practice. Hall and Lindzey inform us that with or without theories, one can abstract and simplify that which is observed. But, these authors warn, if one "does not follow the guidelines of an explicit theory, the principles determining his view will be hidden in implicit assumptions and attitudes of which he is unaware." This is true both for the observer of concrete events as well as for the reader of the descriptions of those events.

The task of developing theories to abstract pertinent social scientific information is not merely an academic exercise which would provide intellectual enrichment for the (emerging) practitioner. If the goal of the student is to better his understanding of practice,

then it needs to be shown how the organization of relevant information has a bearing on practice.

The work of Coombs, Avila and Purkey provides some insight on this point. In their discussion of the characteristics of a professional helper, they said that: "It goes without saying that an effective professional worker must be well-informed about his subject."[9] But their research indicates that the professional worker must be more than well-informed. They have argued that:

> For professional work, knowledge about the subject must be so personally meaningful to the helper as to have the quality of belief. The practitioner, without commitment to his knowledge, cannot be counted upon to use what he knows when it is called for. . . . It is precisely because the discovery of the meaning of information is so essential for the effective training of the professional worker that so much of his training is devoted to discussion, observation, experimentation, internship, and various forms of experience. It is here he discovers the personal meaning of knowledge and converts it to belief.[10]

Effective community leadership, and hence the future course of community development practice, would appear to rest on the practitioners' ability to form beliefs which will guide their actions. The capacity to form beliefs, to attach personal meaning to knowledge, presupposes a sifting and sorting of that knowledge. What seems to characterize community development knowledge is not that there is little of it to draw upon, but rather that it needs to be organized in such a way that an individual could choose between alternative ways of viewing communities and alternative modes of practice. It is this personal choice that guides an individual's practice and it is the organization of knowledge that enables this choice to be made.

In addition, there are good pragmatic reasons--including a saving of time and money--for the clarification of community development concepts and principles. As Charles Hynam has said:

> Here, in Alberta, as everywhere else in the world where community development is being practised, conceptual confusion creates tension, misunderstandings, animosities, suspicions and jealousies which inevitably slow down the machinery of community development and cause unnecessary waste of time and money. Therefore, even from the purely pragmatic or financial point of view, it behooves the theoreticians and research workers to press on with their job of conceptual clarification. . . .[11]

Hardly does one learn to organize one kind of event when he finds that what is really needed is to develop a means of operating that takes account of larger societal, cultural and political goals. Current events and personalities seem to change the practice of community development much more rapidly than do our theories. Practice will continue to be directed by personal and social forces rather than take account of them as long as it does not have a mechanism by which to translate experiences and knowledge into a form usable by community development practitioners.

Both students and professionals have urged that there be an ordering of the information relevant to community development. As Hall and Lindzey have shown, theories provide the framework to order ideas, facts and so on. Indeed, one of the purposes of a theory is to order "All that is known concerning a related set of events." A theory allows one to focus on one aspect of experience or knowledge and to abstract and simplify without being overwhelmed by its complexity. A theory further allows the incorporation of new experience

or learning into a single framework. A problem facing the student of community development is how to abstract and simplify those aspects of social science literature and observations of real communities in order to form his own beliefs which will guide his practice. The purpose of the next chapter is to introduce one type of theory which allows the integration of both the knowledge about a phenomenon and the knowledge about changing that phenomenon.

CHAPTER I

FOOTNOTES

1. Calvin S. Hall and Gardner Lindzey, Theories of Personality (2nd ed.; New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1970), pp. 9-10.

2. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

3. Ibid., p. 11.

4. Ibid., p. 12.

5. Ibid., p. 13.

6. Ibid., p. 14.

7. I use the term 'student' to denote an individual who studies an area of knowledge; this person may be a practitioner but is not someone whose paying occupation is to study. Where study is carried on a full-time paid basis I use the term 'researcher' for the individual carrying on this activity. The term 'professional' will be used to include both researchers and practitioners.

8. Ernest Greenwood, "Social Science and Social Work; A Theory of their Relationships," Social Science Review, Vol. 29, No. 1 (March, 1955), p. 29.

9. Arthur W. Coombs, Donald L. Avila, William W. Purkey, eds., The Helping Relationship Sourcebook (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971) p. 11.

10. Ibid.

11. C.A.S. Hynam, "Community Development: An Example of Conceptual Confusion," Perspectives on Regions and Regionalism and Other Papers, Proceedings, Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology, Edmonton, n.d.

CHAPTER II

PRACTICE THEORIES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The term practice theory as described by Ernest Greenwood refers to a body of knowledge unique to a discipline which includes descriptions of diagnostic and treatment typologies with all their "ramifications, implications, rationalizations."[1] In short, these typologies and so on are groupings of the principles of practice. Greenwood notes: "As a generic concept 'theory' is, after all, any system of relatively abstract propositions. Hence the term [practice theory] is descriptive of the collection of principles which guide the practitioner."[2] The diagnostic and treatment principles of practice theory are analogous to the 'assumptions' and 'operational definitions' of scientific theory as they are described by Hall and Lindzey. Using different terminology, Kramer and Specht have argued that:

> While practice theory is developed by the same methods and procedures as any other, it is theory of two particular kinds: the first is a body of what might be called 'know-why' propositions. These are propositions about the structure and function of systems and processes. They include descriptions, explorations, and predictions about how systems operate under various conditions. These propositions pertain to such ideas as the properties, etiology, behaviour, and life cycle of social phenomena, and can help in diagnosing a problematic state of affairs.[3]

The second set of propositions -- the 'know-how' propositions -- deal with the various solutions that may be given to problems which confront

the practitioner. Ideally this kind of knowledge would include methodological principles that specify goals, incorporate values, and give directions for action in an 'if. . .then' form, telling the practitioner the types of intervention that are most effective under specific conditions.

Attention will now be given to the relationship of a social scientific theory to a practice theory. It will be helpful, firstly, to understand how a practice theory may be distinguished from a scientific theory and, secondly, to explore in what ways the development of a practice theory might be enhanced by the addition of social scientific knowledge.

With regard to the first task, Greenwood notes that:

> The former is technological knowledge; the genus technology comprises all disciplines that aim to achieve controlled changes in natural relationships via relatively standardized procedures that are scientifically based.[4]

Whereas technology, specifically practice theory, is concerned with goal-centered control and, in general, the use of knowledge, the objectives of science are less pragmatic, being concerned with the development of knowledge. "A science may be defined as a system of descriptive propositions about some aspect of nature."[5] The aim of the scientist is to discover under the surface layer of diversity the thread of uniformity and around this uniformity, a logical class is constructed. From this class, generalizations and laws may be formulated at a higher level of abstraction. Science essentially describes phenomena rather than suggesting how to deal with phenomena.

Turning to the social sciences in particular, it is evident that they differ from the physical and biological sciences in their attempt to describe the highest organization of nature, viz. the characteristics and the products of human behaviour as it occurs within social configurations. But in each science the same system of theoretical construction holds true. It is through the interlocking and pyramiding of its generalizations about the social realm that a social science achieves a system of interrelated propositions which (with all their elaborations, ramifications and rationalizations) constitute its body of theory.

Generally speaking, the advances in theoretical construction are made through research. Greenwood has said that:

> The function of research in the service of social science is to test the accuracy of its theoretical models so as to bring about maximum correlation between these descriptive formulations and the social phenomenon thus described.[6]

(This may be compared with Hall and Lindzey's ideas concerning the function of a theory.) Greenwood goes on to say that:

> Research, to be scientific, must proceed from a body of theory and feedback into that theory; its goal always is to test and to expand scientific theory. . . . In his efforts to develop theory, the social scientist need not be, and very often is not, concerned with its applicability. He subordinates that requirement of utility (i.e., applicability to action) to that of theoretical significance.[7]

Social science research is, then, primarily concerned with furthering the development of knowledge, rather than applying that knowledge.

How then, is a social scientific research to be translated into a form usable by practitioners? The answer to this is that there must be a collaborative effort between social scientists and practi-

tioners. A practitioner may confront a social scientist with a particular problem encountered in his practice. The social scientist's response to this, as Greenwood describes it, is as follows:

> The social scientist first attempts to classify the professional's problem as a specimen within a large class of phenomena already identified and described by his science. Having done this, he then brings to bear upon the problem the generalizations which his science has formulated about this class. These formulations serve as his conceptual tools for observing the problem intensively, isolating the elements, and reordering them, so that they are seen in a new light. As a result, alternative solutions to the problem begin to emerge, each of which is tested.[8]

The process here is to start with the specific case, to see it within a general framework and to provide specific answers based on the alternatives given in the general framework. The testing of the solutions remains the task of the practitioner; the results of the testing will confirm or deny the usefulness of the theory according to the results that were expected.

Even though the social scientist is not primarily concerned with the amelioration of individual and specific problems, the successful solution of a practitioner's problem leads to a generalizing proposition which may serve as a guide whenever this type of problem occurs. This proposition can be called a practice principle. The development of these principles allows the integration of theory and practice. Around a particular conceptualization of a certain phenomenon, several practice principles may emerge. The description of the phenomenon with its prescriptions for practice is called a 'practice theory' in this thesis. A practice theory remains as an

hypothesis to be tested in practice. Theory (as it has been shown) built on investigation is simply a means for systematically codifying, testing, and evaluating what we know so that it can be communicated and built on. Practice theory enables the testing of certain assumptions about practice and strategies of practice and the transmission of this knowledge to other practitioners. The point to be emphasized is that the generation of practice theories of community development can only come about through the collaboration of researchers and practitioners. The goal of developing a community development practice theory would be to increase the competency of the practitioner. Hence, the imperative for collaboration of practitioner from community development with those professionals in other disciplines.

The question may be asked: Does community development need this sort of liaison with scientists? Hasn't there been enough progress toward practice theories without formalizing links between the two groups?

If one considers the state of the art in the development of a community development practice theory in light of the preceding discussion, one would find that community development has been built up mainly in a trial-and-error manner, which is crudely empirical and highly pragmatic. Often the intuitive insights and personal experience of dynamic practitioners form the basis for community development knowledge. Community development practice theory has not, to this point, been developed by means of systematic research which converted social science generalizations into principles of practice. It is not

surprising that community development is conceptually weak. The discipline has emerged thanks to a wide variety of practitioners who relied greatly upon their intuition and insight and the wisdom derived from their day-to-day experiences on the job. The result is a disjointed and loosely-knit technology. What differentiates community development from a more mature practice like medicine, for example, is that the latter possesses refined and elaborate classification schemes for diagnosis and treatment, which lends greater efficiency in daily problem solving.

Why is community development "lagging behind" in the articulation of a practice theory? One reason, already alluded to, is that community development practice originiated only fairly recently in a variety of settings (geographic, political, ideological) and for a variety of reasons. Another reason might be that community development is strongly client-centered; that is, the practitioner works with some group in the diagnosis and treatment of a community problem. In this self-help context, there is far more opportunity for learning by experience. The community development worker is very much removed from the traditional diagnostician and yet there is a standard of practice for which the community development worker can strive. Greenwood has said that:

> Ideally, the practitioner should function in the following manner: he is confronted with a problem which is a state of disequilibrium requiring rectification. He examines the problem situation both internally and externally. On the basis of the facts ascertained, he appraises the problem situation. On the strength of his appraisal, he prescribes a mode of solution. He then undertakes the solution which re-establishes the equilibrium.[9]

This process is customarily referred to as the diagnostic-treatment process; community development roughly approximates this kind of process. As generic concepts, "diagnosis" may be defined as the determination of a phenomenon by systematic inspection, and "treatment" may be explicated as the handling of that phenomenon according to plan. It is already apparent that "diagnosis" and "treatment" correspond to the "know-why" and "know-how" propositions of a practice theory. Similarly, these terms are congruent with the problem definition and problem solution activities of community development. The use of systematically developed practice theories would help the practitioner to sharpen his skills as they are tools which would allow the practitioner to abstract from his understanding of particular problems and their solutions and establish more generally applicable diagnoses and treatment typologies. Practice theories provide the practitioner with a coherent way to organize the variables that have a bearing on his work. As evidenced from the argument advanced earlier, the explication of a practice theory within community development would ensure its continued usefulness because it would eliminate some of the conceptual confusion which hampers practice. The above remarks of students and professionals serve to illustrate the timely need for collaborative efforts of community development field workers and academics toward community development practice theories as the basis for forming the beliefs which guide practice.

The next four chapters of this thesis represent one starting

point in the explication of three practice theories. The first of these chapters provides an introduction to this task.

CHAPTER II

FOOTNOTES

1. Ernest Greenwood, "Social Science and Social Work: A Theory of Their Relationships," Social Science Review, Vol. 29, No. 1 (March, 1955).

2. Ibid., p. 21.

3. Ralph M. Kramer and Harry Specht, Readings in Community Organization Practice (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969),

4. Ernest Greenwood, op. cit., p. 24.

5. Ibid., p. 21.

6. Ibid., pp. 21-22.

7. Ibid., p. 22.

8. Ibid., p. 23.

9. Ibid., p. 25.

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION TO THE ANALYSIS

Practice theories have been shown to be the interlinking of descriptions with prescriptions. In each of the three practice theories developed here (Chapters IV to VIII), a sociological perspective of community will be interlinked with a strategy of community development. These perspectives are different descriptions of community, containing different assumptions about community and the development of community. The term 'perspective' is used in order to avoid any discussion as to whether these descriptions are theories. Rather than linking these perspectives of community with models of practice described by practitioners, the approach here has been to link these with three strategies of community development described by J.W. Eaton, a community development professional. The connection between one of these perspectives with one of the strategies was, in each case, made on the basis of a similarity of assumptions about the goals for community. The approach taken in this analysis (that is, linking certain sociological perspectives with certain strategies of community development) is one of many avenues that could be followed in developing a practice theory. This analysis is intended as a demonstration of one possible approach to building practice theories; other perspectives, models, and theories could have been used. These perspectives are part of a particular sociological tradition; the purpose of the remainder of the chapter is to provide an introduction

to the study of communities from a sociological point of view and to show where the perspectives fit into that study.

The State of the Art

There is some difficulty in educating oneself in community development in that method is not always coherently linked to description. What is the state of the art when it comes to reviewing community literature? How advanced is it in terms of providing clear cut models of community which may be compared to one another?

The approaches to understanding community might be portrayed in the same way that the 'six blind men of India' tried to describe an elephant. By focussing their attention on one part of the beast, each of the blind men was able to comprehend only that part and not the whole. In the same way, consensus does not run particularly high among scientists and practitioners dealing with the community. The state of the art of theoretical construction pertaining to community might be termed preparadigmatic. Thomas Kuhn has suggested that scientific advance may be depicted most accurately as consisting of a series of evolutionary steps, each accompanied by its own characteristic and dominant (as Kuhn calls it) paradigm. According to him, every scientific field emerges in a sprawling and uncoordinated manner, with the development of disputes, lines of investigation, and theoretical ideas that preserve their autonomous and competitive positions, until a particular set of ideas assumes the status of a paradigm. Kuhn suggests that these paradigms serve to:

> . . .define the legitimate problems and methods of a research field for succeeding generations of researchers. They were able to do so because they shared two essential characteristics. Their achievement was sufficiently unprecedented to attract an enduring group of adherents away from competing modes of scientific activity. Simultaneously, [they were] . . . sufficiently open-ended to leave all sorts of problems for the redefined group of practitioners to resolve. . . . These are the traditions which the historian describes under such rubrics as 'Ptolemaic astronomy' (or 'Copernican'), "Aristotelian dynamics' (or 'Newtonian'), 'Corpuscular optics' (or 'wave optics'), and so on.[1]

Following the thoughts of Thomas Kuhn, one can be optimistic that a unifying simple model of community will eventually evolve. Warren most strongly urges researchers to move in the direction of a simple model.

> The crying need in community theory, for practical as well as theoretical reasons, is for a relatively simple model of the community which can permit meaningful analysis and testable research hypotheses. Such a model should be capable of accommodating as much as possible of the rich web of social interaction based on common locality that has been the center of interest of community theory, research, and action in the past and will remain so in the future.[2]

Rather than pay attention to all the approaches taken in conceptualizing 'community', the focus here will be on the sociological views of community.

The reason for this stems from the fact that of all the studies of community, sociologists have contributed the major share. The result is that there is more sociological information about community (versus other kinds of data) from which to abstract for the purpose of theory building. The sociological bias of this paper is a natural one as there is an abundance of perspectives to choose from within sociology. As well, many community development practitioners draw on

these perspectives in guiding and discussing their work.

Issues in the Sociological Study of Community

Difficulties in Semantics

'Community' is a word which gives semanticists, no less than sociologists, difficulty, for it is a word that is endowed with so many denotations and connotations that it is nearly impossible to use precisely. Bell and Newby have said that: "Despite the fact that community has been one of sociology's core ideas, it is by no means certain what will be found in a book which includes the word in its title."[3] To this Poplin adds:

> From its inception as a discipline, sociology has been plagued by inconsistency and ambiguity in some of its basic terminology. Indeed, some words which are used almost daily by the sociologist take on so many shades of meaning that it is difficult to endow them with scientific precision. The word 'community' definitely falls into this category.[4]

The need for research is obvious, as Warren cautions:

> If American communities do not show a sufficient degree of similarity of a sufficient number of criteria so that general statements may be made about them, there arises a question, namely whether there is any value to the concept of the American community at all.[5]

Rather than propose yet another 'definition' of community, or even compare previous definitions, this section will outline the many ways in which the word 'community' is used and the major approaches that sociologists have taken in studying community.

Popular vs. Scientific

At the onset, it will be helpful to note that there is the

popular use of 'community' when it is used as a synonym for words like 'groups', 'association', 'society', 'commune', and so forth, and there is the more scientific use of the word which involves the mentioning of certain variables. However, even social scientists are subject to using the term as a synonym. David Minar and Scott Greer, in their book Concept of Community, refer to factories, trade unions, corporations, and professions as communities; also a Mexican village, a railroad town, suburbia, and the United States of America are included in the concept of community. The popular use of 'community', then, should be avoided in scientific discussion if it is to retain any uniqueness of meaning.

Normative vs. Descriptive

A second difficulty in writing about community is that normative statements are apt to be confused with descriptive ones. Bell and Newby note that:

> In considering the concept of community, the sociologist shares an occupational hazard with the architect and the planner; the more he attempts to define it in his own terms, the more elusively does the essence of it seem to escape him. . . . Most sociologists seem to have weighed in with their own idea of what a community consists of -- and in this lies much of the confusion. For sociologists, no more than other individuals, have not always been immune to the emotive overtones that the word community consistently carries with it. Everyone --even sociologists -- has wanted to live in a community; feelings have been more equivocal concerning life in collectivities, groups, networks, or societies. The subjective feelings that the term community conjures up thus frequently lead to a confusion between what is (empirical description) and what the sociologist feels it should be (normative prescription).[6]

Bell and Newby have demonstrated that among those expressing opinions:

> 'Community' was thought to be a good thing, its passing was to be deplored, feared and regretted. The events surrounding the supposed causes of its eclipse -- the democratic political revolutions of America and France and the industrial revolutions of Britain, and later the remainder of Western Europe --were to a remarkable extent the starting point of Toqueville, Comte, Tönnies, LePlay, Marx and Durkheim, some of the most eminent of sociology's founding fathers. What they understood by community makes an appropriate starting place for a discussion of community studies, for in the nineteenth century 'community' occupied a position in the minds of intellectuals similar to the idea of 'contract' in the Age of Reason. The concept of community, however, was not a cold, analytic construct. On the contrary, the ties of the community, real or imagined, came from these thinkers' images of the good life. Community was thus used as a means of comparison with contemporarily exemplified society, yet community consisting as it did of what the particular writer believed it ought to consist of, was capable of encompassing any number of possibly contradictory values which each saw fit to include. This amorphous quality allowed an endless array of social thinkers to unite in their praise of community, no matter how diverse their interpretations of it might be. Overlying this positive evaluation of community, there was frequently a pervading posture of nostalgia -- of praising the past to blame the present -- and the two of these combined when present 'society' was criticized with reference to past 'community'. Industrial society -- and its ecological derivitive, the city --was typified by competition and conflict, utility and contractual relations, the community -- and its ecological derivative the village is at most, the small town -- was the antithesis of these. The impersonality and anonymity of industrial society were highlighted by reference to the close personal ties of the community. The trend appeared to be away from the latter and towards the former: thus there is in writers such as Comte an anguished sense of the breakdown of the old. . . . The community, in other words, was viewed as man's natural habitat.[7]

That there are normative statements made about community is not in itself a negative thing. As Bell and Newby point out: "What the concept involves has not proved too difficult to elaborate; attempts to describe what it <u>is</u> have proved impossible without making value judgement."[8] Given this fact, the only criticism that one can make regarding the inclusion of value statements is that they are not

often stated as being the opinion of the author. "Slipping from empirical description into normative prescription has been all too frequent," as Bell and Newby contend, ". . .for to quite marked degrees the first has not informed the second, and when it has, the results have often been disastrous."[9]

It is legitimate to consider the concept of community from a philosophical viewpoint or a humanistic perspective, as long as this is stated as a goal, or at least as an assumption.

The meaning of community has been hampered by the use of the term as a synonym for other social groupings and by the inclusion of value statements which are not specified as such. A third area of confusion lies in the many empirical approaches to the study of community. These studies identify several debatable areas in community research.

Problem of Generalizability

The first of these concerns is the problem of generalizability -- how does one make general statements based on individual studies of community? A problem facing any student of communities is how to make general statements about communities which are widely applicable despite the many gradations in size and other characteristics which differentiate one community from another.

One possible approach is to consider numerous different 'ideal types' of communities and make general statements only about each type (for example, rural versus urban, sacred versus profane). Another alternative is to confine one's statements to relationships which are

so general that they apply to all communities, regardless of the important differences existing among them. Another possible approach is to consider some of the important dimensions to general statements applicable to all communities, and then 'locate', as Amos Hawley and Roland Warren have done, any particular type of community under discussion at a particular point along each such dimension. Thus a dimensional field can be set up which is sufficiently broad to encompass all communities and make meaningful statements about them on an appropriately abstract level. At the same time it can provide a means for describing the difference between one community and another with respect to their location within the multidimensional field. Statements about specific communities can thus have general relevance, so long as the location of the community within the field is known.

This latter method of comparison is probably the best of the three as comparisons can be made at a variety of levels and along different dimensions. If an individual research report is to have any lasting impact there must be a basis for its comparison with other research.

Object or Sample?

A second issue is: Should the community be studied as an object or as a sample? As Bell and Newby have said:

> The broad lines of debate are now between those who regard the community as a legitimate object of sociological inquiry, while at the same time, perhaps, wishing to alter the nomenclature; and those who do not.[10]

These authors support the view that more and more research is focussed on extra-community functions that are found within the community; they

quote Havinghurst and Jansen in their 'trend report' on Community Research, published in Current Sociology in 1967.

The latter contend that a community study is not a branch of sociology, but rather it is a form of sociological research that is useful for a variety of research purposes. Bell and Newby argue that this approach to community studies leads the sociologist to ask a different series of questions in and of the community from those which are asked when the community is treated as an object. The principal proponents of the community-as-sample approach, Arensberg and Kimball, contend that:

> The thing-in-itself, the community as object, is imperfectly separated, in concept and in practice, from the use of it as field or sample, where the community is that within which work is done, observations made, relationships traced out.[11]

They see that the traditional community study has as its goal the enumeration of the attributes that distinguish it; on the other hand, they view community as a way of studying society and human relations, not because they occur in community, but for their own sake. The object-sample question is part of a larger debate, namely the inductive versus deductive approach to theory building. The work of Arensberg and Kimball is seen as an example of the empirical induction tradition, the models being "from raw data themselves, as knowledge of their interconnectedness and processes unfold from the facts gained in observational research. . . ."[12]

By implication, "the researcher must often learn within the field situation itself the questions he must ask."[13] In summary then, whether the community is to be studied as an object, as something

locatable 'out there', or whether it is to be viewed as a sample of a society or culture, remains as a debate among theoreticians.

Whole vs. Part

Another question is whether community is to be studied as a whole or whether certain facets of the community are sufficient for study. Simpson points out that:

> . . .the various holistic research emphases have in common the effort to understand the community as a totality. This does not mean that to be realistic one must try to describe everything, but it does mean that one should regard the community as an integrated whole and seek to understand what keeps it that way.[14]

He cites two kinds of research which are holistic in nature. The first of these is community ethnographies; exemplary of these are Lynd's Middletown studies, Whyte's Street Corner Society, and Gans' The Urban Villagers. The second kind of holistic studies include stratification studies; these are anthropological in inspiration but focus on structural divisions of the community into social classes. Any number of studies by W. Lloyd Warner, including Democracy in Jonesville, would fit in this category, as would Hollingshead's Elmtown's Youth. The attempt to be holistic in the study of community has led one critic, Ruth Glass, to say that "community studies are the poor sociologist's substitute for the novel."[15]

Community-Specific Processes

Rather than study the community as a whole, an alternative approach has been to examine community-specific processes. As Simpson explains it:

> The identification and examination of processes and dimensions which are specific to the community in the sense that they are not found in other social structures provide much of the rationale for regarding 'community' as a distinct area of investigation apart from stratification, family life, and other aspects of behaviour that may occur in communities.[16]

The succeeding three chapters will concern themselves with various processes which some authors feel are community-specific. The community will be viewed as an ecological entity, as a social organization, or more specifically as a social system and as a unit of interaction. Whether these perspectives analyse community-specific processes is a matter of debate; the scholars which represent these approaches to community would answer that the processes which they describe are specific to community.

Community as Type

One final approach to community will be reviewed in this chapter; it is one that views community holistically, yet considers only a few dimensions. This is the approach which views the community as a type. As Simpson explains:

> The effort in this kind of research is to explain a wide range of behaviour on the basis of a simple classification scheme. Once a concept like gemeinschaft, or folk, is invoked, everything falls into place. The typological tradition can claim a long history of distinguished names: Maine, Tönnies, Spencer, Durkheim, Redfield, Odum, Becker, and others.[17]

The difficulty with this approach is that it ties certain sociological processes to certain geographical types. For example, cosmopolitan behaviour is linked with metropolitan living. The spread of urbanization makes this increasingly less valid as many urban values are

imported to rural areas. Type comparisons of community were once popular among sociologists as a way of making comparisons. Perhaps due to the spread of urbanization the rigid distinctions once made between communities seem to be less valid.

The Three Perspectives: An Overview

Each of the next chapters is occupied with the outline of a particular approach to community. As it has already been said, each of these perspectives falls within the community-specific process tradition of sociological research. The reason for focussing on this sociological tradition is that it permits cross-community comparisons; the ability to compare different communities using different perspectives will encourage more precise research in the long run. The approaches chosen here each view 'community' with different assumptions in mind; thus providing alternative ways to study and compare communities.

CHAPTER III

FOOTNOTES

1. Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960) excerpted in Calvin Hall and Gardner Lindzey, Theories of Personality (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Limited, 1970), pp. 14-15.

2. Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago: Rand McNally Company, 1963), p. ix.

3. Colin Bell and Howard Newby, Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971), p. 251.

4. Dennis N. Poplin, Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1972), p. 3.

5. Roland L. Warren, op. cit., p. 16.

6. Colin Bell and Howard Newby, op. cit., p. 21.

7. Ibid., p. 22.

8. Ibid., p. 21.

9. Ibid., p. 251.

10. Ibid., p. 40.

11. Conrad Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Culture and Community (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965), p. 30.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p. 8.

14. Richard L. Simpson, "Sociology of the Community: Current Status and Prospects," Rural Sociology, Vol. 30, No. 2 (June 1965), p. 56.

15. Ruth Glass, "Conflict in Cities," Conflict in Society (London: Churchill Publishers, 1966), p. 148.

16. Richard L. Simpson, op. cit., p. 59.

17. Ibid., p. 59.

CHAPTER IV

A HUMAN ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO COMMUNITY: AMOS H. HAWLEY

An Overview of Ecological Thought

The idea of these introductory remarks is to give a brief historical account of the development of ecological thought, this being done to place Hawley's theory in context. Poplin informs us that:

> Even though the term 'human ecology' dates back only to 1921, writings which might be classified as ecological in nature go back as far as the early years of the nineteenth century. Indeed, although the term was coined by Robert Park; it is impossible, chronologically speaking, to identify the first human ecologist.[1]

It was the human ecologists who were based at the University of Chicago during the 1920's and the 1930's who gave human ecology its theory and many of its methods. Robert Park is considered the father of modern human ecology, not only because he coined the term, but also because he provided many of the basic assumptions and, more importantly, stimulated other outstanding scholars to seek a thorough understanding of the community. Park developed his notions along with Burgess and McKenzie; these three researchers formed the backbone of what is called 'the classical school of human ecology'.

Research reached a high point about 1935 when many studies were being done. At this time also human ecology received its heaviest blows of criticism; the research efforts lost some of their momentum until about 1950. Amos Hawley revived interest in this branch of sociology by presenting a more comprehensive and more ecologically

based theory of human ecology. Hawley's work marks the beginning of neo-orthodox ecology. Like Park, his research has had widespread heuristic value. The chapters of Theodorson's anthology of studies in human ecology indicate that ecological studies have been done in such diverse contexts as Honolulu, Liverpool, Central Asia, Fiji, Boston, Budapest, India and France. The work of Quinn, Firey, Schnore, Duncan, Foley, Bell and numerous others have kept the human ecological tradition alive.

Although there are several approaches to human ecology, many of the basic principles are grounded in Hawley's work. In reviewing a number of ecological theories, Bell and Newby have concluded that:

> Amos Hawley's Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure is the most carefully developed and comprehensive statement of the ecologist's theoretical position.[2]

For this reason, this chapter follows Hawley's lead. Additionally, Hawley's work is probably the "purest" presentation of human ecology in that he attempted to follow general ecological assumptions and not to integrate other theory. Speaking of his work, Hawley has said:

> The definition of human ecology presented in this volume is not the only conception that is recognized. It is one, however, which builds upon the contributions of plant and animal ecologists and seeks to follow the logical implications of general ecological theory.[3]

Although the term 'human ecology' made its appearance in 1921 (in the volume An Introduction to the Science of Sociology, by R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess), Hawley notes:

> Its meaning has not always been clear, however, despite the fact that sociologists and, to a lesser extent, anthropologists have given the term widespread currency in numerous special studies and textbooks. Although sociologists assumed

> responsibility for defining and delimiting the field of human ecology, they have neglected this in their concern with special and often minute problems of ecological research. Analysis, in other words, has seldom been followed by synthesis and, as a result, analysis has frequently been misguided so far as the progress of ecology is concerned.[4]

Hawley additionally qualifies ecological research in saying that:

> . . .students of human life have plunged into ecological research with their taxonomic task only partially completed. In fact, even today the determination and classification of data are not generally recognized as of primary importance for the advancement of social science. Human ecologists, therefore, like their colleagues in other branches of social science, are hampered by persistent disagreements concerning the nature of their data and the techniques of study that are amenable to them. As no workable theoretical system can be built upon anything other than a coherent and inclusive classification of data, the progress of human ecology promises to be slow until this task is done.[5]

Human ecology represents a specialization within a broader field of ecology and can be comprehended only when viewed against the background of the parent discipline. As Hawley explains it:

> The word ecology is derived from the Greek eikos -- a house or place to live in. . . . Ecology is commonly defined as the study of the relation of organisms or groups of organisms to their environment. It is based upon the perception of the world of life as a system of dynamic interdependences. Every organism, plan or animal -- including man -- is in constant process of adjustment to an environment external to itself. . . . All organisms are engaged in activities which have as their logical conclusion adjustment to environment.[6]

The basis of modern ecology and, to a large extent, the social sciences as well is in the work of the biologists Darwin and Wallace. With these men, attention shifted from a preoccupation with cosmological problems, such as the ultimate meaning of each form of life, to a search for specific causes responsible for the existence of

species. Final causes were forsaken in favor of necessary and sufficient causes. In his works, Darwin formulated the basic ideas which were later brought together to constitute the theoretical understructure, the frame of reference, of modern ecology. All life was Darwin's province and he perceived it as a moving system of vital relationships in which were implicated every organism and species of life. This general conception, which he described metaphorically as the "web of life", has been elaborated by succeeding students and has become the key idea in ecological research. Organisms are related to one another in the web on the basis of a struggle for existence. Struggle for existence is a broad and general term; it refers to the organism's relationships with both the inorganic and the organic elements of the environment, and includes in its meaning the competition among forms of life and also the cooperation and mutual aid that develop among organisms. Through struggle for existence order develops and the web of life unfolds as organisms become adjusted to one another and to the physical environment. Darwin also demonstrated the limiting and constraining effects of environment upon life; "environment" includes all factors external to the organism and exerting an influence on its behavior. Thus, there is an organic, as well as an inorganic, environment, and the organism's place in one is affected by and in turn affects, its place in the other.

General Ecological Theory

As has been mentioned, ecology is the study of both the form

and the development of organization in populations of living things. Ecology begins with the problem of how growing multiplying beings maintain themselves in a constantly changing, by ever restricted, environment. It proceeds, in other words:

> . . .with the conception of life as a continuous struggle for adjustment of organisms to an environment, a struggle initiated and continued essentially by the different modes of change of these two components of the life process.[7]

In the ecological view, however, life is not an individual but an aggregate phenomenon. Hence, the underlying assumption of ecology is that adjustment to environment is a mutual, in fact, communal function. The adjustment of a population to its physical world occurs not through the independent actions of many individuals but through coordination and organization of individual actions to form a single functional unit.

Organisms live not as discrete units, but collectively in organized unions of one kind or another. Adaptation is achieved indirectly and with the aid of the organism's fellows. Adaptation to the inorganic phase of the environment presupposes adaptation to the organic phase. The cooperative or organized population that emerges from the adaptive efforts of organisms is the chief, in fact, the basic, means of adaptation to the inorganic environment. That is what is meant by communal adaptation and it is this that constitutes the special subject matter of ecology.

The inevitable crowding of organisms upon limited resources produces a complex interaction of organism with environment in the course of which individuals adjust to one another in ways conducive

to a more effective utilization of the habitat. In consequence, there arises among the organisms occupying a given habitat an equilibrium of relationships which approximates a closed system; that is, the aggregate assumes the characteristics of an organic unit as each type of life accommodates its behaviour to that of every other. The community, as the ecologist calls the pattern of symbiotic and commensalistic relations that develops in a population, is in the nature of a collective response to the habitat; it constitutes the adjustment of organism to environment. The subject of ecological enquiry is, therefore, the community, the form and development of which are studied with particular reference to the limiting and supporting factors of the environment. Ecology, in other words, is a study of the morphology of collective life in both its static and its dynamic aspects. It attempts to determine the nature of community structure in general, the types of communities that appear in different habitats, and the specific sequence of change in the development of the community.

The community conception, then, arises from the consideration of the species formation as a collective response to the life conditions offered by a given habitat. The formation constitutes a community in that it possesses a common habitat and serves a common end, namely, adaptation to the habitat. Ecological interest in the biotic community is twofold in character, being concerned with (1) the form of community organization, and (2) the mode of the development of the community.

A very useful conception in the study of communities is that

of the "niche" or "functional role." The concept focusses attention upon what organisms do in the habitat rather than upon their morphological characteristics. A community may be viewed as an organization of niches since the activities of each class of organism influence the activities of every other class in the association. The organism which occupies the niche of key importance in the community is called the dominant.

The community has often been likened to an individual organism. Hawley has said:

> So intimate and so necessary are the interrelations of its parts that any influence at one point is almost immediately transmitted throughout. Further, not only is the community more or less self-sufficient entity having inherent in it the principle of its own life process, it has also a growth or natural history.[8]

At this point, a speciality of ecological theory, human ecology, will be examined.

Human Ecology

In at least one of its aspects the human community is an organization of organisms adjusted or in the process of adjustment to a given unit of territory. Hence, the rise of human ecology has meant a logical extension of the system of thought and the techniques of investigation developed in the study of the collective life of lower organisms to the study of man. Human ecology may be defined, therefore, in terms that have already been used--"the study of the form and the development of the community in human populations."[9] Hawley notes that:

> When man by nature of his culture-producing capacity is regarded as an entirely unique type of organism, the distinction has reached a point of over-emphasis. Human behaviour, in all its complexity, is but a further manifestation of the tremendous potential for adjustment inherent in organic life. Thus, if we look upon culture as the totality of the habitual ways of acting that are general in a population and are transmitted from one generation to the next, there exists for human ecology no peculiar problems other than those involved in the fact of its complexity.[10]

Human ecology is not concerned with how habits are acquired. That is a psychological problem. It is interested rather in the functions they serve and the relationships they involve. Man's collective life involves, in greater or lesser degree, a psychological and a moral, as well as a functional integration. But these should, according to Hawley, be regarded as complementing aspects of the same thing rather than as separate phases or segments of the community. Sustenance activities and relationships are inextricably interwoven with sentiments, value systems, and other ideational constructs. Human ecology is restricted in scope, then, not by any real or assumed qualitative difference in behaviour, but simply by the manner in which its problem is stated. The question of how men related themselves to one another in order to live in their habitats yields a description of community structure in terms of its overt and measurable features. It does not provide explanations of all the many ramifications of human interrelationships, though it may serve as a fruitful source of hypotheses concerning those aspects of the community.

Community Structure

The term structure connotes some sort of orderly arrangement

of discrete or, at any rate, distinguishable parts. As applied to the community, structure relates to all the essential functions and their interrelations by which a local population maintains itself. That mechanism may be regarded as existing independently of the particular individuals living at any one time.

> Generation may succeed generation and individual may replace individual without disrupting the pattern of interdependencies that constitutes the community. When we speak of community structure, we refer not to the attributes of individuals but to a property of the aggregate.[11]

Two tasks are involved in a structural analysis of the community. First, it is necessary to identify the kinds of parts that make up the whole. The second step is to ascertain the configuration or pattern of the whole, i.e., the relative numbers of different kinds of parts and their interrelationships. Individuals constitute the basic units as they are the primary producing and consuming agents. However, Hawley contends that:

> Although the importance of the individual may vary considerably at different times and places, he has no existence apart from a larger whole. Man is inexorably dependent.[12]

The collective life of man, as for all other organisms, revolves simultaneously about two axes, one of which is symbiotic, the other, commensalistic. The former pertains to the interdependencies of unlike forms, i.e., units of dissimilar functions; the latter to the co-action of like-forms, i.e., units of similar functions. These two types of relationships are found in all organized populations. Each represents a peculiar and complementary integrative force; together, therefore, they constitute the basis of community cohesion. Thus, community is a symbiotic-commensalistic phenomenon.

It is evident that two distinguishable forms of groupings develop from the two relationships. The symbiotic relation is the basis of what may be called a corporate group. Such a group is internally differentiated and symbiotically integrated; it constitutes an organ of the larger communal organism. The commensalistic relations give rise to a categoric group, an association of functionally homogeneous individuals. Every such segment of the communal aggregate is, or is capable of becoming, a categoric group. The community, then, may be regarded as a collection of corporate and categoric groups.

Corporate and categoric groupings are further distinguished by their functions. As an organization of specialists, the corporate unit is able to engage in elaborate and aggressive programs of action. Thus, it is essentially a producing unit: it is the responsible agency for the production of goods and service. The categoric unit, on the other hand, is capable of serving only the function of protection or conservation. Several types of corporate units are distinguishable; namely, the famial, the territorial and the associational. The principle categoric units are occupational in character though the same principle of organization gives rise to cliques, clubs, and common interest associations of many types.

An important aspect of inter-unit relationship is that of dominance. Inequality of function differentiates the power exercised by each unit which, together with the necessity for coordination, is responsible for the emergence of a dominant unit. The function of

dominance is usually exercised by the unit that controls the conditions necessary to the activities of other units. Categoric groupings of units tend to enhance or preserve a dominant position.

Communities may be further classified as independent or dependent in accordance with the extent of their self-sufficiency. The independent community is highly self-sufficient, isolated, small in population, and possessed of a simple technology. The dependent community is involved in a network of inter-community exchange relations, may have a very large population, and exists where technology is rather far advanced. Its organization comprises a large number of diverse corporate and categoric units. The centralization of control is pronounced, though it tends to be shared by government, which holds the police power, and by those other associational corporate units which regulate the flow of sustenance into the community. Rivalry for dominance arises from categoric combinations of lesser corporate units, e.g., the social class.

Change in Human Ecology

Hawley has said that:

> Change is any irreversible or nonrepetitive alteration of an existing pattern of relationships. This, it should be noted, excludes such routine sequences as the diurnal and seasonal cycles in the functioning of a community; the succession of generations in the division of labour; the daily ebb and flow of population; and so on. Change occurs when one pattern of relationships is replaced by another or, what amounts to the same thing, when an existing functional rhythm gives way to a new and different one.[13]

The human community is so complex as to defy simultaneous

observation of all its parts or of all factors influencing its form. Moreover, those students who attempt to deal with the community as a whole are interested only in change which concerns the whole. Thus, changes in the parts become important only so far as they alter fundamentally the general structure of the community. And, inasmuch as fundamental structural alterations are observed to be widely spaced in time, community change seems to be most adequately accommodated in a discontinuous conception of change.

Collective life, Hawley contends, is inflexible at many points and, therefore, is resistant to change. A fundamental change seems to require a cataclysmic disturbance, one which threatens the very existence of life itself. These notions lead to the cyclical interpretation of change or natural history. The histories of a variety of social phenomena may be seen as natural histories. The term succession is used in ecological theory to denote natural history.

Another way of viewing change is with reference to the patterns it displays. Three patterns of change are expansion, conversion, and contraction. By expansion is meant change of a developmental character in which a community is enlarged and extended, becoming not only more inclusive but also increasingly complex in its internal structure. Conversion, the second type, refers to that change in which one form or structure of relationships is replaced by another of essentially the same degree of complexity. In other words, conversion entails no long run progression in the direction either of growth or decline. The third pattern of change, contraction, is merely the

converse of expansion. It envisions the progressive reduction and possible disappearance of a community. It is through expansion that new types of communities replace old structures, and that man's relations to habitat and to other forms of life are significantly altered.

Summary

1. Human ecology is a specialization within ecology and, as such, can only be comprehended against the background of the parent discipline. Hawley seeks to follow the "logical implications of general ecological theory" in his construction.

2. Ecology is the study of the relation of organisms to their environment; every organism has dynamic interdependence with which every other organism and all organisms are engaged in activities which have as their final end adjustment to the environment.

3. The key idea in ecological research is the notion of the web of life--all organisms are related to one another in the web on the basis of a struggle for existence. Struggle for existence refers to the organisms' relationships with both the inorganic and organic environment. The struggle for existence is initiated and continued essentially by the different modes of change in the environment and in the organism.

4. Life is not an individual but an aggregate phenomenon. Organisms live collectively in organized unions. Adaptation to the inorganic phase of the environment presupposes adaptation to the organic phase. Ecologists are particularly interested in the co-

operative or communal response of organisms which is the inevitable result of adaptation.

5. The community conception arises from the collective response of a species to its habitat. Community refers to the structure of relationships through which a localized population provides its daily requirements; it is the least reducible universe within which ecological phenomena may be adequately observed. Ecology is concerned with the form of community organization and the role of community development.

6. A very useful concept in community study is that of niche or functional role. A community is seen as an organization of niches since the activities of each class of organism influence the activities of every other class in the association. The niche of primary importance is the dominant niche.

7. Human ecology studies the form and development of the community in human populations. Human ecology is not concerned with how habits are acquired but rather with the functions they serve. Man's culture producing ability does not particularly distinguish him from lower animals. Interdependence is the inescapable and fundamental aspect of human existence. Sustenance activities are inextricably interwoven with ideational constructs (sentiments, values, and so forth).

8. Community structure relates to all essential functions and their interrelations by which a local population maintains itself. This is a property of the aggregate. Structural analysis involves identifying the parts and the pattern of the whole. The individual has no existence apart from the whole.

9. The collective life of man is both symbiotic (interdependence of unlike forms) and commensalistic (interdependence of like forms). The symbiotic relation is the basis of a corporate made up of functionally heterogeneous individuals; the categoric group is the by-product of functionally homogeneous individuals interacting in a commensalistic relation. Corporate groups are more aggressive and productive while categoric groups are status quo maintaining and consumptive. Inequality of function differentiates the degree of unit power and a dominant unit emerges.

10. The independent community is one that is highly self-sufficient; all communities range between this and dependent communities which are involved in a network of inter-community exchanges.

11. Change is any irreversible or non-repetitive alteration of an existing pattern of relationships; in other words, it is the displacement of one functional rhythm by another. Collective life is generally inflexible and community change is seen as discontinuous.

12. In ecological theory there are three patterns of change: expansion (community extension and enlargement), conversion (change in relationships, a no growth situation), and contraction (progressive decline of community).

CHAPTER IV

FOOTNOTES

1. Dennis E. Poplin, Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Company, 1972), p. 66.

2. Colin Bell and Howard Newby, Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971), p. 33.

3. Amos Hawley, Human Ecology: A theory of Community Structure (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950), p. 74.

4. Ibid., p. 8.

5. Ibid., p. 6.

6. Ibid., p. 3.

7. Ibid., p. 66.

8. Ibid., p. 50.

9. Ibid., p. 68.

10. Ibid., p. 69.

11. Ibid., p. 206.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p. 319.

CHAPTER V

A SOCIAL SYSTEMS APPROACH TO COMMUNITY: ROLAND L. WARREN

Introduction

Warren's research is akin to Hawley's in its position in sociological research. This is true in two respects. The first is that Warren's work builds on a foundation of thought established by his predecessors. Principally, the work of Loomis, Parsons and Homans has established the social systems research tradition in sociology, and it is these scholars that Warren acknowledges as being the most useful main contributors to his analysis of community. Like Hawley, Warren's study has had great heuristic merit; he is widely quoted by other 'community sociologists' as well as by community development professionals.

An Overview

Warren's initial assumption is that:

> . . .if the concept of the community as a social entity has any inherent validity, there must be identifiable characteristics which all communities have in common, whatever the differences which may distinguish one from another.[1]

Following from this, Warren informs his reader that his book Community in America:

> . . .is an attempt to explore in a systematic way the common characteristics of the changing pattern of American community life. It does so by placing less stress on a particular geographic area as the focus of analysis than on types of systemic relationship into which people and

> social organizations come by virtue of their clustering together in the same location.[2]

The interaction, then, which is the appropriate focus for analysis in community phenomena, is that which arises from common location. Such interaction arises out of the necessary provision for a number of locality-relevant functions which must be available in the immediate daily-accessible vicinity. The locality-relevant functions alluded to include production-distribution-consumption, socialization, social control, social participation, and mutual support. While these functions are not exclusive to the locality, the organization for their provision in the immediately accessible locality constitutes the primary task of the community. Widely differing types of social arrangement can constitute the auspices under which these functions are provided locally, including informal groups, voluntary association, business units, and government. There are a number of implications for local people having these functions performed under each of these various types of auspices. There are also implications for local community life in that churches, factories, stores, banks, government offices, and voluntary associations are often tied in with systems which extend far beyond the community, linking them with other units at the provincial, national, or even international level. Warren has called the relation of local units to extra-community systems the vertical pattern. The same set of analytical concepts may be used in considering the horizontal pattern, which is the relationship of the local units to each other. Much of the local behaviour of social units is conditioned by their belonging to these two somewhat different,

often contrary, types of social system. From this Warren has developed a systematic framework for the analysis of community actions, including the development of the community.

The Rationale of Warren's Approach

Warren contends that there are three broad developments which ought to occasion the formulation of a more analytical approach to community.

> The first is a gradual realization on the part of students of the community that the traditional way of thinking about communities is no longer adequate, if it ever was, to describe American community life. The second is the emergence of a series of circumstances believed to be inimical to healthy community living, the emergence of what may be summarized as 'the community problem.' The third is the recent development of a number of theoretical and methodological tools which have increased our knowledge about community structure and processes, and which hold great promise for future research.[3]

There are, then, two interrelated developments: one is the actual change in communities; the other is the change taking place in theoretical and methodological formulations among students of communities. Increasingly, the local community is extending its ties to the larger society and somehow an adequate description must relate the community meaningfully to the rest of society. Warren observes that:

> A community's reality exists only in its constituting a social entity, only in the behaviors and attitudes which its members share, only in the patterns of their interaction.[4]

Warren has constructed a model of community which he feels is able to accommodate the change in community, both actual and theoretical.

The Community Model

Warren considers a community to be that combination of social units and systems which performs the major social functions having locality-relevance. This is another way of saying that "community" means the organization of social activities that affords people daily local access to those broad areas of activity which are necessary in day-to-day living. The description and analysis of such activities is organized around five major functions which have locality-relevance. These functions are: (1) production-distribution-consumption; (2) socialization; (3) social control; (4) social participation; and (5) mutual support. Warren notes that while all these functions have locality-relevance, this does not mean that they are functions over which the community exercises exclusive responsibility or over which it has complete control. In fact, according to Warren, the extra-community ties of the community play an important part in its development. The community, however, is especially characterized by the organization of these functions on a locality basis.

The functions described by Warren are given as follows. The functions of production-distribution-consumption has to do with local participation in the process of producing, distributing, and consuming those goods and services which are a part of daily living and access to which is desirable in the immediate locality. The principal providers of such goods and services include all community institutions, whether industrial, business, professional, religious, educational, governmental and so on. As has been mentioned:

> . . .the conditions under which one such unit or another shall provide the particular goods or services are an important consideration, and the switch in their provision from one type of auspices to another has important implications. . . .[5]

The function of socialization involves a process by which society, or one of its constituent social units, transmits prevailing knowledge, social values, and behaviour patterns to its individual members. Schools and families play a major role in early socialization.

The functions of social control involve the process through which a group influences the behaviour of its members toward conformity with its norms.

> Here, too, several different social units perform this function on the community level. Customarily, formal government is considered particularly pertinent, since by definition, government has ultimate coercive power over the individual through the enforcement of universally applicable laws. The police and the courts are especially relevant in the performance of the social-control function by local government, but. . . many other social units, including the family, the school, the church, the social agency, also play a large part.[6]

An important community function is that of providing local access to social participation. One thinks of voluntary organizations of various sorts as the community's most important units for channeling social participation. According to Warren, the most widely prevalent social unit for providing social participation is the church or synagogue. Other organizations in the course of performing their occupational tasks provide avenues for social participation.

A final major community function is that of providing for mutual support on the local level.

> Traditionally, such mutual support, whether in the form of care in time of sickness, the exchange of labour, or the

> helping out of a local family in economic distress, has been performed locally very largely under such primary-group auspices as family and relatives, neighbourhood groups, friendship groups, and local religious groups. Specialization of function along with other social changes. . .has led to a gradual change in auspices for many of these mutual support functions -- to welfare departments, to private health and welfare agencies, to governmental and commercial insurance companies, and so on.

A conventional way of describing the related community phenomena is to consider the various institutional areas of the community. However, these institutional areas correspond only very loosely to the major locality-relevant functions. As already indicated, most of these functions are performed by a great variety of institutional auspices. According to Warren, the present period is one characterized by important shifts in the performance of these functions from one set of community auspices to another. Hence, a functional rather than an institutional approach seems to have the greatest potential for bringing out this cross-institutional distribution of important functions.

With regard to making comparative statements about community, Warren's tack has been that of devising a dimensional field. He contends that the first of the ways in which American communities differ from each other in their structure and function relates to the dimension of autonomy. In considering any community, we shall be interested in the extent to which it is dependent on or independent of extra-community units in the performance of its five functions. The second type of difference is in the extent to which the service areas of local units (stores, church, schools, and so on) coincide.

A third type of variation concerns the extent of psychological identification with a common locality. This entails a sense of relationship to one another among the inhabitants of a community -- a sense that the community is a significant social group. A fourth dimension is the extent to which the community's horizontal pattern is weak or strong. This horizontal pattern is the structural and functional relation of the various local units --individuals and social systems -- to each other. In some communities, the sentiments, behaviour patterns, and social systemic inter-connections of the horizontal pattern may be strong (there is a high degree of interaction) in others weak.

The Great Change and Its Impact

Warren argues that changes on the community level are taking place at such a rapid rate and in such drastic fashion that the entire structure and function of community living are being transformed. It is a thesis of his book that a great change is taking place in community; this change has been occasioned by seven factors: (1) increasing division of labour; (2) differentiation of interests and association; (3) increasing systemic relationships to the larger society; (4) bureaucratization and impersonalization; (5) transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government; (6) urbanization and suburbanization; and (7) changing values. The result of these forces is the increasing orientation of local community units toward extra-community systems of which they are a part, with a corresponding decline in community cohesion and autonomy. One side-effect is that

decisions, policies and programs of local units, although they must conform in some respects to community norms, come to be formulated in centralized offices outside the community and come to be guided more by their relation to extra-community systems than by their relation to other parts of the local community.

Before considering the implications of the great change, it is well to consider in more depth the way in which Warren has analyzed the community. Two points are recurrent in Warren's argument; the first is that, while many types of interaction take place among various social units distributed throughout the world, the interaction which is the appropriate focus for analysis in community phenomena is that which arises from common location. The second is that such interaction arises out of the necessary provision for a number of locality-relevant functions which must be available in the immediate daily-accessible vicinity. Warren has asked whether this interaction can be meaningfully examined through the use of social system analysis.

The Community as a Social System

Warren contends that:

> A social system is a structural organization of the interaction of units which endures through time. It has both external and internal aspects relating the system to its environment and its units to each other. It can be distinguished from its surrounding environment, performing a function called boundary maintenance. It seeks to maintain an equilibrium in the sense that it adapts to changes from outside the system in such a way as to minimize the impact of the change on the organizational structure and to regularize the subsequent relationships.[7]

Social systems display external and internal patterns. The former is the set of relations among the members of a group that solves the problem: How shall the group survive in its environment? The latter arises out of this and includes group behaviour that is an expression of the sentiments towards one another developed by the members of the group in the course of their life together. These correspond roughly to what has been termed the task and maintenance functions of a group. Warren has elaborated the external and internal aspects of a system and has called them the "vertical pattern" and the "horizontal pattern."

The term "vertical pattern" refers to the structural and functional relation of a community's social units and subsystems to extra-community systems. The "horizontal pattern," although not identical with the maintenance function of the task-maintenance dichotomy, closely approaches it. The horizontal pattern has to do with the formal and informal structures and processes through which the local units maintain a systemic relationship to one another. Some degree of formalization and bureaucratization has become evident in the community's horizontal pattern in the later stages of the great change. This is apparent in the development of such institutions as the community chest, the community planning council, the chamber of commerce, and the federation of churches; all of these represent attempts to structure in a rational and deliberate fashion the relationship of diverse community units to each other.

The Community Problem and Community 'Development'

The strengthening of a community's vertical pattern and the concomitant weakening of the horizontal pattern has led to the emergence of a community problem. What are the conditions of American community living which make it difficult for people to muster their resources on the community level to cope with their problems? To begin with, Warren argues, many of the problems which are confronted on the community level simply are not solvable on that level at all, but are problems of the larger society of which the community is a part. Any single community's effort is little or nothing against the forces of the larger society. Much important behaviour which takes place at the community level takes place within units, groups, companies, and other entities which are integral parts of larger systems. A second barrier to effective community action is the loss of community autonomy over specific institutions or organizations located within it and closely intermeshed with the community's welfare. A third problem is one which Warren feels to be more nearly under the potential control of community people. This barrier is constituted of a number of related phenomena which fall under the heading 'lack of identification with the community'. This lack of "we" feeling is occasioned by apathy, alienation and anomie.

According to Warren, the goal of community development is to deliberately strengthen a community's horizontal pattern rather than letting it simply emerge as a consequence of the vertical pattern. Warren has devised a model of community action which is applicable to a community development process.

The Community Action System

At the outset, Warren argues that it is helpful to distinguish community action episodes from other social processes occurring in the community. In addition to the seven aspects of the "great change", there are a number of dynamic processes which may be continuous or intermittent, and which themselves do not constitute change but may have relationships to change. These include the basic social processes of centralization-decentralization, invasion, succession, symbiosis and segregation. Other processes such as socialization and social control have already been considered as major locality-relevant functions, the local provision and allocation of which is the main function of the community as a social system.

These change processes are more or less continuous. By contrast, community actions are episodes or episodic. They have a beginning and an ending. They are initiated to accomplish some purpose; they involve a process of organization and task performance in the direction of accomplishing the purpose which in the process may be modified. Then, with the resolution of their effort, the action subsides, and the episode is finished. An understanding of such community action episodes is important for several reasons:

1. It helps to delineate the structure of the community.

2. It helps in understanding the community in its dynamic aspects rather than in its relative static structure, as has long been customary. In a sense, a community is what it does, and much of what it does can be grasped by studying episodes of action.

3. It helps in better understanding the role of the change agent in respect to his objectives in such fields as public health, social welfare, mental health, industrial development, and so forth.

Warren's approach is to consider community action as the behaviour of a special social system. This ties in with his notions of the great change which has brought about a strengthening of the vertical pattern and a weakening of the horizontal pattern. Specific community units have customarily established, rationally developed procedures for collaborating across the diverse units of community. Warren has proposed a five-stage action system model. The fivefold pattern includes: (1) initial systemic environment; (2) inception of the action system; (3) expansion of the action system; (4) operation of the expanded action system; and (5) transformation of the action system.

Warren outlines the five stages as follows. The first stage concerns itself with community and the various social systems that constitute it. In what ways can a new community action system be related to the existing systemic organization of the community? Two related questions are: What conditions of operation of the existing system create a favorable situation for the inception of the particular community action system? What system patterns for community action already exist in the community to which the community action system may be related in some functional way?

The inception of the action system is the second step. The principal task of the action system at the inception stage is to

define the accomplishment which is to result from the community action and to determine which elements of the community must be involved in order to assure this accomplishment.

The third stage --expansion of the action system --gives rise to the question: For what purpose are additional individuals or groups to be brought into the action system?

The operation of the action system, the fourth stage, refers to the task performance phase of the action system. Much of the activity at this stage will depend on the nature of the desired fate of the action.

The fate of the action system, especially its systemic residue, is the focus of the last stage, called the transformation of the action system. A later chapter deals with the roles of what Warren has called the 'problem area specialist' and the 'permissive community organizer'. It is the work of these experts that changes the relationship of a community's systems. The action undertaken by these experts is analyzed in the community action system model.

Summary

1. Warren's approach is a systems analysis of the community interaction which takes place as a result of common location and the necessary provision of five locality-relevant functions.

2. Change has occasioned a rethinking of the conception of community. This change has been occasioned generally by three factors: (1) dissatisfaction with earlier community models on the part of

students of the community; (2) emergence of new theoretical tools; and (3) circumstances believed to be inimical to community living.

3. The community is seen as that combination of social units and systems which performs the major social functions having locality-relevance. These functions include: (1) production-distribution-consumption; (2) socialization; (3) social control; (4) social participation; and (5) mutual support.

4. Communities may be distinguished from one another according to a four-part dimensional field. The dimensions include: degree of autonomy; coincidence of service areas; psychological identification with locality; and strength of horizontal pattern.

5. A great change is taking place in community which has been occasioned by: (1) increasing division of labour; (2) differentiation of interests and associations; (3) increasing systemic relationships to the larger society; (4) bureaucratization and impersonalization; (5) transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government; (6) urbanization and suburbanization; and (7) changing values.

6. The result of this change has been the strengthening of a community's vertical pattern (the relation of local units to extra-community systems) and the weakening of the horizontal pattern (the relation of the local units to one another).

7. This has led to a community problem made up of a number of constituents. Many problems confronted on the community level are simply not solvable on that level. There is increasing loss of community autonomy, there is increasing lack of identification with

the community.

8. Warren sees the goal of community development as strengthening a community's horizontal pattern.

9. Community development is included in a five-stage community action model. The stages include: (1) initial systemic environment; (2) inception of the action system; (3) expansion of the action system; (4) operation of the expanded action system; and (5) transformation of the action system.

CHAPTER V

FOOTNOTES

1. Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), preface, p. vii.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 2.
4. Ibid., p. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 10.
6. Ibid., p. 11.
7. Ibid., p. 12.

CHAPTER VI

AN INTERACTIONAL APPROACH TO COMMUNITY: HAROLD T. KAUFMAN

Introduction

This chapter is a synopsis of Kaufman's paper entitled, "Toward an Interactional Conception of Community." Kaufman informs his readers that the purpose of his essay is "to suggest some conceptual guidelines for the study of community from an interactional and process perspective."[1]

The rationale for the development of an interactional approach is as follows. Firstly, as Kaufman argues, the interests in community change and development call for a theory and research focussing on dynamics and process.

The second rationale is expressed by Jessie Bernard:

> For the most part, the sociologists have been interested in the community structures which result from interaction rather than the interaction processes themselves. . . . It would seem that the time may be ripe for a greater emphasis on dynamic interaction in community studies and also, perhaps, for greater recognition of the community aspect of all interaction studies.[2]

In general terms, the thought expressed here is that sociologists have a contribution to make to the study of community if they would see it as a dynamic social entity rather than as static.

That there has been research on community dynamics is documented by Kaufman. He identifies four areas of study which contribute to the interactional study of community.

> One is the conception of the community as a group. Perhaps the most quoted treatment is a paper entitled 'The Community as a Social Group' [by E.T. Hiller]. . . . A second interest is the development of the notion of community action analysis, while a third line of development is to be seen in studies of local leadership and power structure. A fourth area of studies which would appear to have a definite contribution to make in developing an interactional concept of community deals with the notions of field, arena, or situation.[3]

The Interactional Model

Of the three major perspectives explicated in this thesis, the interactional model is the least well-defined. As Kaufman notes:

> The notion of the interactional field or arena presented here is a highly tentative one. It is much more an enumeration of elements of an interactional conception of community rather than a precise statement of their interrelationship. . . . Although the concept is highly general, heuristic, and primarily of value in organizing concepts with more restricted reference, it is also amenable to graphic presentation and analogy. The interactional field probably has several dimensions, the limits and interrelation of which need to be determined. The community field is not a Mother Hubbard which contains a number of other fields, but rather is to be seen as only one of several interactional units in a local society.[4]

Kaufman further articulates this notion by saying:

> Perhaps the notion of community arena or field can be made more comprehensible by the use of analogy. Keeping in mind the limitations of this method in scientific discussion, one may visualize the community field as a stage with the particular ethos of the local society determining the players and the plays. If the orientation is democratic and primary social contacts are dominant, many engage in script writing and acting and there are relatively few spectators. On the other hand, in situations where the population is relatively large, only a small proportion can occupy the stage at any one time. The same persons are likely to appear again and again, while the others sit passively on other stages, unmindful of the community drama. Where the situation is one of status quo, little if any acting takes place and when it does, it is the same old thing.
>
> The community field consists of an organization of actions carried on by persons working through various associations or groups. This organization of actions occupies the center of

> the community arena and is distinguished from other fields of action in a locality by a complex of characteristics or dimensions. Providing a setting for community action and an integral part of the arena are patterns of demographic, ecological, and physical factors.[5]

The focus of study in the interactional model is upon community actions and interactions, as they constitute the basic stuff of the community field. More specifically, because the community field is distinct from other interactional fields, the focus of study is upon the interplay of community actions and interactions with (1) the demographic, ecological, and physical setting and (2) with other interactional fields both in the given locality agglomerate and in the mass society.

Before outlining Kaufman's analysis any further, it is well to consider the similarity of his thought regarding community to those of others who have studied community. Kaufman's contention is that the basic stuff of community is above all interaction. This notion is one borne out by the research of George Hillery. Hillery's research involved factoring out certain elements of ninety-four definitions of community. Commenting on Hillery's research, Bell and Newby contend that:

> Despite Hillery's conclusion that there is an absence of agreement, beyond the fact that community involves people, a considerable amount can now be salvaged from his analysis . . . . All but three of the [ninety-four] definitions clearly mention the presence of a group of people interacting; those that do not have an ecological orientation. Sixty-nine of the ninety-four definitions agree that community includes social area, and some times or bonds in common. Seventy or almost three quarters, agree on the presence of area and social interaction as necessary elements of community; but more than three quarters (seventy-three) agreed on the joint inclusion of social interaction and common ties. Thus

> a majority of definitions include, in increasing importance for each element, the following components of community: area, common ties, and social interaction.[6]

Turning from the remarks of a sociologist to those of a community developer, it is evident that the words of T.R. Batten express a conception of community similar to that of Hillery's.

> Underlying all. . .uses of the word 'community' there is the conception that a community is a social group in which the individual members have some shared values, attitudes and interests. It is this element that assists them to convene as social groups, and that gives some degree of order and predictability to their actions.[7]

Similarly, Maurice Stein's[8] analysis of certain American suburbs reveals that it is not propinquity which produces community but rather a like orientation to certain values regarding success, money, organized leisure time, and 'one-up-manship', which is the cement of suburbia. Stein invites his fellow sociologists to keep their eyes fixed on the 'vital human dramas' enacted in communities as each one fights against the sameness of mass society. Stein's work has concerned itself with suburbs primarily and although he admits that his findings have limited generalizability, it is worthwhile to note that he also considers the basic 'stuff' of community to be social interaction along certain shared perspectives. Robert Nisbet, a social philosopher, extends the generalizability of his thinking to the history of western thought.

> By community, I mean something that goes far beyond mere local community. The word as we find it in much nineteenth and twentieth century thought encompasses all forms of relationships which are characterized by a high degree of personal intimacy, emotional depth, moral commitment, social cohesion and continuity in time. Community is founded on man conceived in his wholeness rather than in one or another of the roles, taken

> separately, that he may hold in the social order. It draws its psychological strength from levels of motivation deeper than those of mere volition or interest, and it achieves its fulfillment in a submergence of individual will that is not possible in unions of mere convenience or rational assent. Community is a fusion of feeling and thought, of tradition and commitment, of membership and volition. It may be found in, or given symbolic expression by, locality, religion, nation, race, occupation, or crusade.[9]

Richard W. Poston writes that:

> Vital community life is something creative. It is integrated. It is an organic whole. It is personal cooperative and mutually stimulating. . . . There is a sense of belonging in an atmosphere of neighbourliness and understanding, a spirit of unity and of community solidarity.[10]

Poston, a community development professional, writes of community with a sense of high, pure regard for what it provides for man.

Arthur Morgan, an individual who has long championed the survival of the small community, goes a step further. In a quote in Murkeji's book on community development in India, he says:

> If a person has no chance to experience good will, considerateness, courtesy and mutual helpfulness in the life around him, then in general he will not have these qualities in himself. These traits of mutuality which men get by living together in intimate relationship -- regard and responsibility, a sharing of the risks and opportunities of life and a feeling of oneness -- turn a group into a social organism. They have not only individual characters and minds, but a group character and a group mind. It is this interwoven and interrelated complex of social traits, this social personality, which we have in mind when we speak of community. . . .[11]

Minar and Greer aptly summarize the above remarks in saying:

> At the roots of the human community lie the brute facts of social life: organization. . .organization of a human aggregate requires. . .shared perspectives. What finally binds a community together is a state of mind on the part of its members. . .a sense of interdependence and loyalty.[12]

Elements of the Interaction Model

Action and Interaction

In order to understand the community as an interactional arena, Kaufman contends that ways of viewing action or units of interaction need to be explicated. One unit of study of the interactional level is the 'action' or 'interaction'. The term action may be more appropriate when seen in a time sequence; the concept of interaction is used when the relationship among persons is the major focus. At the observational level, actions are called projects, programs, activities, or events. Examples are planning and building the community hospital, operating the city park, and planning and carrying out the annual community homecoming. Three important analytical elements of any action, whether community or other, are: (1) the persons involved, designated here as actors or participants; (2) the associations or groups through which the action takes place; and (3) the stages and phases of action through time.

The community actor or participant may be identified by who he is and what he does. Who he is depends on his position in the structure of the local society; among the characteristics of position are social rank, material possessions, age, and sex. In looking for what the community actor does, one would investigate his behaviour in organized groups and in informal networks which are located in the locality. Formal indices of participation include membership and officeships in voluntary organizations and positions held in agencies. An overall index may be gained from a composite rating of one's fellow community

members. The degree of participation of a local population runs all the way from residence and sustenance activities to policy making. Only a minority of the population is ever active at a given time; of this group some will be the leaders, power 'elite', and/or 'persons of influence'.

> The kinds of questions which are a central consideration in the interactional approach are: Who makes decisions and influences community action? On what phases of a project do given persons appear? Is there a division of labour or do certain persons appear in every project?[13]

Sociologists have frequently designated the community a social group, but community, especially in the modern world, is seldom if ever expressed through only one association. In fact, a great variety of groups may at one time or another be involved in community action, but only a few organizations are engaged entirely in community activity. Kaufman argues that:

> In a local society with relatively small population and simple organization, such as an open country neighborhood, associations engaging in community activity are relatively easy to recognize. An excellent example is the community club. . . . By contrast, in a city a number of organized groups may be operating in each interest area. In this situation it is not only more difficult to identify the organized activities which lie in the community field, but it is especially so with respect to the informal network.
>
> At the associational level the community may be seen as a network of interrelated associations, formal and informal, whose major function is problem solving for the local society. In a changing society, the community may be seen as a problem-solving process which provides needed adjustment for the local life. At any one time only a small proportion of the recognized associations in an area of any complexity would be involved in the community process.
>
> Discrete unrelated actions, no matter how great their individual contributions, do not make the interactions community. A degree of co-ordination, integration, and unity is essential. This is realized at the associational level through groups which coordinate and carry out community

> activity. At the cultural level, integration is effected through the widely shared values and objectives pertaining to the community field and, at the ecological level, through a 'functional relation' of services.[14]

The phases or sequences of observable events are the data for the study of community action. Kaufman has tentatively suggested five phases of community action: (1) 'Rise of interest.' This implies an awareness of need and perhaps of general solution and the spreading of the consciousness; (2) 'The organization and maintenance of sponsorship.' A major sponsor, a group or individual, can always be identified and frequently there is one or more auxiliary sponsors; (3) 'Goal setting and the determination of a specific means for their realization.' This is the decision and policy making phase; (4) 'Gaining and maintaining participation, especially of the rank and file.' This is the public relations and recruitment phase; and (5) 'Carrying out the activities which represent goal achievement.' Actions may be occasional, periodic, or continuous. In many cases, this sequence will repeat itself beginning with phase two; conversely, the sequence may not be lived out to completion. "What actions and associations are included in each phase is a way in which three elements of action --persons, groups and sequences --may be interrelated."[15]

Distinctiveness of the Community Field

How one finds community is a problem that Kaufman wrestles with. Making explicit the criteria of community action which set off community from non-community is a crucial problem in interactional theory.

> Six types of characteristics, dimensions, or criteria are suggested for differentiating community action from that not appropriate to the community field. . . . The dimensions noted are (1) the degree of comprehensiveness of interests pursued and needs met, (2) the degree to which the action is identified with the locality, (3) the relative number, status and degree of involvement of local residents, (4) the relative number of significance of local associations involved, (5) the degree to which the action maintains or changes the local society, and (6) the extent of organization of the action.[16]

Range of Interests

With regard to the first characteristic, Kaufman has said that it is essential that an action be identified with the locality and that it either express a number of interests in the local life or be closely related to other actions which express such interests.

> If actions cover a wide range of interests of the local life, they will of necessity involve a number of significant participants and groups. An example of an activity which would rank very high at the center of the community field would be a well organized and productive community development program. An example of an action in a locality which has no local reference whatsoever would be a national convention with no local participants.
>
> By definition, the ends of the community development program are entirely oriented toward improving and increasing identification with the locality. The program pursues a variety of interests, from economic development through the pursuit of religious goals. In this activity many significant community members and groups must be involved.[17]

Identification with Locality

Turning to the second characteristic, Kaufman argues that localities vary greatly as to the number of interests which are expressed through locally-oriented actions. Strong communities have actions locally-oriented across the gamut of human interests and these actions are co-ordinated. In some cases, locality has lost many of

its locally-oriented actions (services) and thus has declined as an interactional unit.

In the study of any given locality, the student of community interaction is interested in discovering whether the area is merely a 'chunk of mass society' or whether it has a number of interrelated locally-oriented associations which are carrying out the common life. Kaufman says that:

> Most so-called community context studies have been in the community but not of it. That is, they have used a locality as basis of sampling but there has been no identification of the phenomena under study with the interactional community. Persons, groups, and sequences must be interrelated.[18]

Degree of Involvement

With regard to the characteristic of the 'degree of involvement' of individuals and associations, Kaufman suggests that:

> The number and significance of individuals and associations participating are debatable criteria in community field definition. If the position is taken that for action to be highly community in character there must be a high level of participation on the part of both individuals and associations, then bias is introduced favoring what is termed . . .the 'participating community', and this of necessity limits the size of the population.[19]

The size of the community is according to the level of participation required of individuals in order for them to be considered members of a community. If high participation is a dominant value then the community is smaller than it would be if only a little participation was required in order for individuals to be considered as part of a community.

Change and Stability

With regard to change and stability, Kaufman notes:

> In the present world with many forces destroying locality group identity, much community action is oriented to creating community. This makes of central importance in an interactional notion of community, those value complexes and cultural themes which people want to realize in their localities. Community in the present-day world is always more a dream, an ideal, than a reality.[20]

The Interactional Perspective in Research

Kaufman summarizes the areas of research needed in the interactional community in saying that:

> The relative usefulness of any perspective or framework of study is to be determined finally by the fruitful hypothesis developed. This paper has of necessity been more an enumeration of elements or components of the interactional perspective than it has been a precise and analytical presentation. Brief note should be made, however, of analytical designs possible within the interactional perspective. Before causal or sequential types of analysis can proceed far, indices must be developed of the various elements, e.g., extent and nature of participation or identification with locality. The physical, ecological and demographic factors in most designs appear as independent variables.[21]

However, as it stands now, the interactional approach makes three contributions to the study of community. First, the emphasis is on dynamics and change. The focus is on interaction through which forms of association and institutions change. The vagueness possible in some process theories is avoided by making structure --community associations and actors--an integral part of the formulation. A second value is the scope and inductive nature of the perspective. Although the major focus is on interaction, institutional, demographic and ecological considerations are essential.

> The inductive emphasis in the perspective is seen in the concern for gathering data at a relatively low level of conceptualization, such as programs, projects, and participants.[22]

The conception of arena or field presents a pluralistic and open system as contrasted to a closed logical system. It allows for convergence of various points of view, and carries the assumption that at this stage of development of community theory, it would be premature to attempt a neat systematization. What is needed is the interlinking of Kaufman's approach with other theories of community.

It is just as important a social fact to discover what people think community ought to be as it is to describe what community is. This is especially true in view of the fact that community action in the modern world is to a large extent problem solving and change oriented. It is directed more to the creating of new associations and institutional forms than to maintaining the existing ones. Thus, special attention needs to be given to the ends of community action, especially as discrete ends become integrated into meaningful themes or designs regarding what constitutes the good community.

A legitimate and much needed task for the sociologist is to analyze those ends and goals which the average citizen, as well as the leaders of thought and opinion, regard as desirable and good. It is essential to carry out this analytical function for two reasons: (1) in order to complete the analysis of the action process; and (2) to make interaction analysis highly relevant for community improvement and developing programs.

Kaufman concludes by saying:

> The social value of community research may be measured by the extent to which it contributes to realizing the types of community that people desire. In this endeavour, the sociologist has a continuing challenge to work with action leaders in developing and making explicit various alternative designs for the good community and suggesting conditions under which these goals may be realized.[23]

Summary

1. Interest in community change and development calls for theory and research focussing on dynamics and process.

2. Kaufman's notion of the interactional field is a highly tentative one. It is much more an enumeration of elements of an interactional conception of community than a precise statement of their interrelationships.

3. One may visualize the community field as a stage with the particular ethos of the local society determining the players and the plays.

4. The community field is an organization of actions carried on by persons working through various associations or groups (informal and formal) whose major function is problem solving for the local society.

5. Two highly significant types of relationships in studying the community field are the interplay of community actions and interactions with (1) the demographic, ecological, and physical setting, and (2) other interactional fields both in the given locality agglomerate and in the mass society.

6. One unit of study at the interaction level is the action or interaction; 'action' implies a time sequence while 'interaction'

focusses on the relationship among persons.

7. Actions include projects, programs, activities, events. Each action is distinguishable by: (1) its actors or participants (those persons involved); (2) the association of groups through which actions take place; and (3) the stages and phases of action through time.

8. The community actor is an important item of study. Who is he? To what extent is he involved, with whom and doing what?

9. Community may be seen as a problem solving process which provides needed adjustment for the local life; a degree of coordination, integration and unity is essential among associates.

10. At the cultural level, integration is affected through the widely shared values and objectives pertaining to the community field and at the ecological level through a 'functional' relation of services.

11. Kaufman has identified five stages or phases of community action: (1) rise of interest; (2) organization and maintenance of sponsorship; (3) goal setting and the determination of specific means for their realization; (4) gaining and maintaining participation, especially of the rank and file; and (5) carrying out the activities which represent goal achievement.

12. What actors and associations are involved in each phase is a way in which three elements of action, persons, groups, and sequences may be interrelated.

13. Kaufman has suggested six characteristics which differentiate community action: (1) the degree of comprehensiveness of interests pursued and needs met; (2) the degree to which the action is identified

with the locality; (3) the relative number, status, and degree of involvement of local residents; (4) relative number and significance of local associations involved; (5) degree to which the action maintains or changes the local society; and (6) the extent of organization of the action. Localities vary greatly as to the number of interests which are expressed through locally-oriented actions.

14. It is just as important a social fact to discover what people think community ought to be as it is to describe what community is. This is essential (1) in order to complete the analysis of the action process, and (2) to make interaction analysis highly relevant for community.

CHAPTER VI

FOOTNOTES

1. Harold F. Kaufman, "Towards An Interactional Concept of Community," quoted in Roland L. Warren, ed., Perspectives on the American Community (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1966), p. 95.

2. Jessie Bernard, quoted in Kaufman, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

3. Harold Kaufman, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

4. Ibid., pp. 91-92.

5. Ibid., p. 92.

6. Colin Bell and Howard Newby, Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971), p. 12.

7. T.R. Batten, quoted in Phillip Ruopp, Approaches to Community Development (The Hague: W. Van Hock Limited, 1953), p. 81.

8. Maurice Stein, The Eclipse of Community (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), passim.

9. Robert Nisbet quoted in E. Digby Baltzall, The Search for Community in Modern America (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 2.

10. Richard W. Poston, excerpted in Ernest B. Harper and Arthur Dunham, Community Organization in Action (New York: Associated Press, 1959), p. 32.

11. B. Murkeji, Community Development in India (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1967), p. 56.

12. David W. Minar and Scott Greer, The Concept of Community (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), p. ix.

13. Kaufman, op. cit., p. 94.

14. Ibid., p. 96.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., p. 97.

17. Ibid., p. 98.

18. Ibid., p. 99.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., p. 100.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

CHAPTER VII

THREE PERSPECTIVES CRITIQUED AND COMPARED

In this chapter each of the three perspectives will be critically examined and then compared.

Hawley's Human Ecological Perspective

There are a number of criticisms that could be made of the ecological perspective. The present section by no means deals with all the shortcomings but will mention some of its more obvious faults.

The first fault is Hawley's use of the word 'community'. It is a word borrowed from biologists, notably botanists, to describe groupings of vetegation. The biologists presumably saw plant life as being analgous to human groupings and adopted the term 'community' in a crudely anthropomorphic way. Given this, Hawley's use of the word is not scientifically accurate as it is based on a predecessor's a priori assumptions about the generalizability of the term.

A second criticism, raised by Milla A. Alihan in her critique of the ecological school, is the lack of clarity of the terms 'community' and 'society'. Alihan notes:

> The fundamental assumption of ecologists is that every action or phenomenon or move of living beings is territorially based. The essential attributes of the concept 'community' are reactions on the animal level. However, in the distinction between the concepts 'community' and 'society', there is an inference that some human actions have a more specific relation to territory than others. In fact, in the correlation of ecological distribution and animal or organic behaviors, it is more or less generally assumed that the more rational or

> conscious activities are less dependent on territorial factors.[1]

This assumption is apparent in most of the theoretical formulations of the school (Hawley included) and reaches a climax in the view that the willed and contractual relationships between men in 'society' are less directly affected by their organic relationships than by their distribution in space. "It will seem to follow," says Alihan, "that a study made on ecological premises would be directed more to the asocial or purely organic activities of man. It is this logical conclusion that the ecologists themselves reach when they occasionally point out the 'unsocial' character of the concept 'community'."[2]

Alihan continues:

> However, the actual 'ecological' studies cannot follow out this distinction, because if we take a territorially demarcated unit as a basis for study, we do not discriminate between certain activities carried on within the area as those of 'society' and others which are those of 'community'. When ecologists themselves subdivide 'community' into various communities --economic, political, and cultural--we seem to be tracking the territorially determinant factor down to narrower bounds. . . .[3]

Consequently, there is confusion even among ecologists as to which segments of the ecological community are social and which are unsocial; what is thought by one ecologist to be territorially determined is for another a product of man's rational mind.

A third criticism of human ecology is raised by Getty.

> In spite of statements in the literature to the contrary, there is considerable evidence that the ecologists hold to a theory of biological and/or geographic determinism in human affairs. In other words, men and their institutions are represented as being spatially, temporally and occupationally distributed by the operation of forces either inherent in the biological nature of man or existing external to man in the so-called 'natural world'.[4]

Man, then, in the ecological view, is essentially biological. Beliefs, attitudes, values and ideologies are of secondary importance. But is it more rational to believe that the elaborate division of labour which is propelled by the engine of competition is somehow a more human characteristic of human beings? The ultimate survival of the world would seem to depend more on a 'hidden hand' which keeps the eco-system in balance than on man's ability to reason. Thus, ecological theory is positivistic, deterministic and mechanistic.

A fourth criticism is that all behaviour is of the adaptative variety; presumably all inventions and innovations are geared toward this ultimate end. If, in fact, adaptation to the inorganic environment presupposes adaptation to the organic environment, then the fact that man has survived implies that all man's communities are more or less viable. Similarly, if one believes that man will survive as a species, then one will likely assume that communities are here to stay.

A 'viable' community is one that is able to carry on sustenance activities; that is, able to exploit the environment to sustain itself using technology to a greater or lesser degree. Change of a developmental nature in a community has been called expansion. Hawley contends that this implies that a community "becomes not only more inclusive but also increasingly complex in its internal structure." In human communities this entails an increase in the use of technology and a specialization of tasks which would lead to greater exploitation of the environment. The ecological assumption that all of life represents a struggle for existence would imply that there is compe-

tition for scarce resources. This being so, it might be expected that one community's expansion leads others to conversion (no growth or decline) or possibly contraction (progressive, reduction and possible disappearance of a community). In the ecological view, the gains of one community's development are losses of another. This, however, is in accordance with the ecological views that some communities can be expected to dominate others and to expand as long as the environment can sustain it. The justice of this scheme is at the mercy of the elusive 'hidden hand' -- an entity whose identity is assumed but never articulated.

Warren's Social Systems Perspective

The first criticism that might be levelled at Warren's formulation of community stems from his premise that the community is a combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance. The criticism of this notion is advanced by Israel Rubin. He contends that:

> 'The obvious difficulty with this claim is that it lacks not only data to substantiate that these functions cannot be performed by any structure other than that termed 'community' by the respective authors, but they actually lack any sound theoretical basis that would at least lend logical support for this thesis. Why should one assume that the satisfaction of daily needs must take place within a community? Unless, of course, one chooses, as some do, to define the term as the territory within convenient daily reach of the individual. But then we fall into tautological reasoning, for each individual who manages to survive has, by definition, access to sources that provide for his daily necessities. Hence, what purpose does it serve to search for the nature of modern man's community beyond the obvious observation that unlike his predecessor, urban industrial man has daily access to a larger chunk of territory and greater variety of goods and services

> that came, by virtue of availability, to be included in the list of one's daily needs.[5]

As stated, Rubin touches on the fact that urban-industrial man has access to more territory and goods and services to satisfy his needs. One might ask where the line is drawn between human need, human wants and human greed. The question is also raised as to the limits of growth of the territory which provides the locality-relevant functions. Does community need to continue to cater to all human 'needs' in order to be called community? Will there likely be a cessation in the division of labour and in technological developments which would curb the individual's access to larger chunks of territory and goods and services?

Warren has outlined that:

> What occurs seems to be that as communities grow, or as they persue through time under modern conditions, there is greater specialization of effort within the community, a reflection of the overall process of a division of labor. This process is especially familiar to all of us in the gradual differentiation of older family functions and their assumption by such social agencies as the school, the church, governmental bodies, and commercial enterprises. Community development thus manifests [itself] as a progressive differentiation of function and structure.[6]

Rubin argues that:

> There is no apparent reason why a community should contain a cross-section of all major institutions. . . . Such a claim would especially be difficult to defend with regard to western style developed countries with a highly developed institutional division of labour. If such functions as economic production or education have proven to be feasibly (in fact, necessarily) accomplished in functionally specific structures, why insist that the community function require a diffuse setting?
>
> Even more important is the issue of territorial boundaries; a characteristic on which most community students insist. This insistance is clearly associated with the assumed function

> of a daily need provision which by its very nature takes place within a geographic unit or a set of units (neighbourhood, township, metropolitan area). . . . The Romantic theme that modern man has 'lost' his community is fed by the common observation that the neighbourhoods, towns and cities have ceased to serve as significant foci of identification for the mobile man of industrial society.[7]

Continuing in his analysis of the development of communities, Warren notes that as this process occurs:

> . . .a more intricate network of interdependent, specialized parts forms the increasingly complex system and with this progressive fragmentation of function, the problem of community coherence arises.[8]

Warren asks: "Can the increasingly specialized parts be kept in coordination? Can the increasingly specialized interest groups work together for common goals?"[9]

If the vertical pattern is continually strengthened while the horizontal pattern is increasingly weakened, this would seem to progressively exclude one of the properties of a system; this property is called boundary maintenance. Warren informs us that:

> By definition, a social system is an organization of interaction of member units, and as such, it must be distinguishable from its surrounding environment. That is, it must be possible to ascertain precisely which units are interacting as member units of the particular system to be described. The system endures as long as these units remain in a systemic relationship; as differentiated from the relation of the units to other units in the environment. Such behavior is termed 'boundary maintenance'. Obviously, if the system cannot retain this relationship, it dissolves, no longer being an identifiable organization of interacting units.[10]

It is not surprising, then, that Warren would argue that "providing sufficient horizontal coordination is becoming more a problem as vertical orientation and coordination develop."[11] If Warren's analysis of community is to remain valid, then the horizontal

pattern must be retained and enriched to keep pace with the increasing vertical orientation. It is difficult to imagine the development of Warren's concept of community in all its aspects, and if this were possible, how it must be distinguished from 'society'.

Warren notes that the vertical pattern is strengthened as the result of the "task-oriented activity of the problem-area specialists," who represent various agencies and bureaucracies. They are experts applying their specific talents to particular areas of life, keeping in mind the ideal of the development of the community. Another of the results of the problem area specialists has been "to produce disalignments which have structural, functional and emotional aspects."[12] Warren has called for the emergence of the "permissive community organizer" whose chief concern is with what happens to the interrelated parts of the community. The task here is performed with the ideal of community coherence kept in mind. Both the "problem area specialist" and the "permissive community organizer" could justifiably claim to be doing "community development work', even though they will often be working at cross purposes. Furthermore, to contend that the progressive reorganization (rather than deterioration) of community living is in such a direction that the horizontal axis becomes increasingly less important would suggest that the work of the "permissive community organizer" is of second-rate importance at best. It might be asked where the input of the people living in the community is supposed to take place. As the "permissive community organizer" is concerned with 'process' and 'tension reduction', it might seem more

natural for citizens to voice their concerns through this person. But this seems after the fact; the decisions to proceed with certain tasks in the development of the community are increasingly made outside the community. Inputs at the civic level of decision-making are difficult enough, let alone at the provincial, federal or international level. Perhaps in the community too many issues need to be tackled to sensibly distinguish it from society.

To review, the first criticism of Warren's is that it is based on the assumption that it is the only structure which performs locality-relevant functions. To say that community means a territory in which certain events take place which are relevant to the territory conveys no uniqueness of meaning in the term community. Further, Warren's idea that the community should take care of the whole gamut of human needs means that as technology provides access to larger numbers and a greater variety of goods and services, what is locality-relevant is brought into question. Community, at least geographically, becomes increasingly coterminous with the society or the state; as this happens, community coherence declines. Therefore, the problem, at least conceptually, with an increasing lack of community is that community, considered as a system, loses the property of boundary maintenance. Rather than abandon this conceptualization of community, Warren calls for a "permissive community organizer" to keep a community's boundary maintenance function intact. The role of this individual would seem to run at cross purposes with the tasks of what Warren calls the "problem area specialists", whose job it is to increase the extra-community ties, thus disrupting community coherence.

Kaufman's Interaction Perspective

Kaufman is the first to answer any criticism that his interactional approach is conceptually weak. His paper is intended to "suggest guidelines for the study of community from an interactional" or process perspective. Kaufman admits that his ideas are "highly tentative" and that his paper is more an enumeration of elements or components of the interactional perspective than a precise and analytical presentation. Kaufman's main argument is that 'community' involves collective action toward the realization of common goals arising in a residence-sustenance locality of a society. Not all interaction which occurs within a territorial area derives from a community. Only those forms of interaction which arise within locally defined and implemented value orientations are community. Community exists only when there is a common recognition of 'local' goals, a collective motivation with respect to these goals (cooperation or conflict), and local allocation of resources with respect to these goals.

Kaufman's argument presupposes a number of conditions. The first is that the local society can be defined. This is perhaps easy in an isolated village, but given the existing orientation toward centralization of control, it is difficult to define what is local even in the village context. Does local mean the area in which certain goods and services are supplied? Does it mean a like orientation toward certain cultural values? Does it connote a geographic entity --village, city, metropolis-- of a certain title?

Secondly, Kaufman presupposes that democratic decision-making at a grass-roots level is possible; that is, that a citizen or an elite group of a given area has the information and power to effect decision. The right to have primary social contacts in relation to certain issues -- the right to assemble -- is granted. In some countries this is curtailed. Also, Kaufman notes, if the population is large, there will be few actors on the community stage. He also contends that "if the position is taken that for action to be highly community in character there must be a high level of participation on the part of both individuals and associations, then a bias is introduced favoring what is termed the participating community."[13] This, of necessity, limits the size of the population. There is the danger that a small group of individuals, by virtue of their ability to participate, will eventually control a major portion of local decisions; by definition this is all that 'community' would imply.

To summarize the criticisms of Kaufman's argument: first, they are very tentatively presented; second, he does not explain one of the key concepts -- the local society; third, he presupposes the possibility of democratic decision-making at the grass-roots level, and fourth, there is the danger that his definition of community could only describe an elite group of decision makers.

Three Community Perspectives Compared

A comparsion of the three perspectives can be made along several dimensions. The first might be their historical sequence. Hawley's

book was published in 1950 and Kaufman's paper first appeared in Social Forces in 1959. As Warren's book was first printed in 1963, he had the option of quoting his predecessors. He quotes both Hawley and Kaufman in his text and has attempted to integrate ideas from both the ecological and interactional schools of thought.

The Approach to Community

Hawley and Warren both take a deductive approach to the descriptions of the major processes of community. Kaufman makes only brief mention of certain of these processes and concentrates on community episodes and events. Hawley reasons from certain established notions drawn from general ecological theory, while Warren relies on certain generalizations made about the properties of social systems in his analysis. Kaufman's argument is more tentatively presented and he aims at a much lower level of conceptualization. In both the ecological approach and the social systems approach, the community is fairly rigidly defined according to the appearance or non-appearance of certain conditions which describe the community. For Kaufman, community exists when people act and decide for a common good. His analysis is primarily of dynamics rather than the identification of certain structures. Overall, the perspectives are progressively scientific and objective as one reads Kaufman, then Warren, then Hawley. All three theories face the problem of identifying what is unique about community and particularly the problem of contrasting the community from local or larger society as the community expands and becomes increasingly differentiated. Does a social structure merit a

new name as it grows and differentiates its functions?

Kaufman has deliberately sought to include normative viewpoints in his formulation of community. For him, the goal of community theory is directed towards improving community and this necessarily involves value judgments. Warren recognizes the trade offs that have to be made between certain types of 'development' according to what is valued by the community. On the other hand, certain forces associated with the 'great change' in communities seem to him to be inexorably shaping community. Hawley believes that values, beliefs and ideologies are subservient to the need to adapt to the environment. While Kaufman would argue that each man has the option of participating in community life and controlling the degree of his participation, Hawley feels that man as an individual is dependent upon certain forces in community.

All three perspectives of community mention that interaction is a part of what a community is. Hawley notes that interaction in a community arises out of the imperative for survival; adaptation to the inorganic environment presupposes adaptation to the organic environment. Warren says that interaction arises out of the necessary provision of locality-relevant functions. For Kaufman, community does not exist unless there is interaction between individuals orientated to the local society.

A lack of interaction means for Hawley that man will not survive. Warren's view is that interaction must be manipulated in such a way that the horizontal pattern is encouraged rather than

simply emerging as a consequence of the vertical pattern. Warren and Kaufman would agree that if certain types of interaction did not occur, man would survive but communities would atrophy.

The goal of life in the ecological model is survival. In the interactional analysis, survival is at the hands of decision-makers, and in Warren's view, man controls his destiny to a limited extent. Thus, as one reads Hawley, then Warren, and Kaufman particularly, individuals become increasingly more accountable for the way a community exists and develops.

CHAPTER VII

FOOTNOTES

1. Milla A. Alihan, "Community and Ecological Studies," Social Ecology (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938). Reprinted in George A. Theodorson, Studies in Human Ecology (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1961), p. 93.

2. George A. Theodorson, op. cit.

3. Ibid., p. 94.

4. Warner E. Getty, "Human Ecology and Social Ecology," Social Forces Vol. XVIII (May, 1940). Reprinted in George A. Theodorson, op. cit., p. 99.

5. Israel Rubin, "Function and Structure of Community: Conceptual and Theoretical Analysis," International Review of Community Development, No. 22 (December, 1969), p. 112.

6. Roland L. Warren, "Towards a Reformulation of Community Theory," Human Organization, Vol. XV, No. 2 (Summer, 1956). Reprinted in Roland L. Warren, ed., Perspectives on the American Community (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), p. 71.

7. Israel Rubin, op. cit., p. 114.

8. Roland L. Warren, op. cit., p. 71.

9. Ibid.

10. Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), pp. 142-143.

11. Ibid., p. 144.

12. Roland L. Warren, "Toward a Reformulation of Community Theory," op. cit., p. 72.

13. Harold F. Kaufman, "Towards An Interactional Concept of Community," Social Forces, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (October, 1959), p. 99.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMUNITY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

It should be evident that each of the three sociological perspectives suggests a different version of the purpose of community. What the development of a community means is also different in each perspective. The purpose of this section is to provide a synopsis of what the development of community means within each of the three perspectives. This synopsis provides a linkage to three strategies of community development described by J.W. Eaton. Each of the strategies is the logical outcome of certain assumptions about the nature of community and what the development of community means. Each strategy corresponds in this way to one of the perspectives presented in this thesis; together the perspective and the strategy define one practice theory.

The three community development approaches that Eaton identifies are: the Social Darwinist approach, the expertist approach, and the mutualist approach. Each model deals with five types of questions.

1. Authority: Who sanctions the right to make decisions?
2. Personnel: Who are the planners of community development?
3. Problem Solving Process: How are plans formulated?
4. Distribution of Gains: Who is to benefit and how much?
5. Distribution of Losses: What dislocation and suffering can be anticipated as part of the development process?

It is well to remember that what is done on a day-to-day basis in community development practice is also a by-product of many inter-related factors. Some of these factors would include: the personality of the community worker and his perception of his job including his co-workers and client; his source of remuneration and his loyalty to that source; and the objectives of the sponsor. However, an argument advanced in this thesis is that the perception and understanding of what a community is, is a central factor which has a great influence on the strategies of development.

Practice Theory I: The Human Ecological Community and Its Development

In Hawley's view, a developing community is one that is expanding. The process of expansion implies that a community becomes not only more inclusive but also increasingly complex in its internal structure. Development proceeds at the direction of a 'hidden hand' which keeps the entire ecosystem in balance and, more specifically, at the rate and pace set by a dominant community. In the human community survival means competition for scarce resources, each community attempts to become dominant in exploiting the environment for sustenance maintenance. The dominant community -- the one best able to exploit the environment -- maintains its control in the distribution of sustenance to other communities.

In the development strategies of this model of community, we would expect to see a heavy emphasis on sustenance activities -- the exploitation of the environment. We would expect to see rivalry for

dominance and competition for the opportunity to exploit scarce resources as a good of any community. The right of leaders to make decisions regarding the procuring and control of sustenance goods would be accepted as a natural thing. That fact -- that power to effect decisions is unevenly distributed --would be in keeping with the notion of dominance. Keeping this mechanistic view of community in mind, it is not hard to see that it provides the basis for the strategy of development that Eaton has called the Social Darwinist strategy.

Social Darwinism

Eaton informs us that:

> Social Darwinism was the development ideology of the laissez faire economics. It was prominent in the English and American industrial revolutions. It is the ideology of economic development in much of South America, Arabia, and South Africa, in countries ruled by dictators and oligarchies.
>
> Social Darwinism presumes that development is primarily the result of the achievement of leaders. It is dependent on their managerial skill, their capacity to take risks, and their technological know-how. Leaders are believed to emerge after a struggle for existence and survival against their opposition. Thus they prove themselves as having been most fit to survive. They are the product of a natural selection process, more worthy than the rest of their society. Decision making is authoritarian. Leaders exercise exclusive authority and, if need be, deal ruthlessly with anyone who questions it. Their power to make plans and enforce them is sanctioned by a belief in their inherent superiority.
>
> The Social Darwinist ideal is rarely stated explicitly. It has little popular appeal. It presumes leaders are free to dispose of the benefits from community development as they wish. As a matter of expediency they are likely to share their entrepreneurial gains with supporters of their absolute and personal power group, if they actively work for the approved development plan. Such followers will benefit, though at lesser rates of remuneration. They may even be invited to make suggestions about policy but have no right to affect final decisions. The oligarchic leaders do not regard such consultation as morally necessary as do those subscribing to a mutualistic ideology and, to a degree, the supporters of

> expertism. . . . Social Darwinism accepts as natural that persons defined to be of inferior status need not benefit from the development process.
>
> The Social Darwinist ideology is conservative and revolutionary. It sanctions the use of force to wipe out opposition as well as revolutionary change. It holds that it is natural for change to occur when an elite no longer deserves the superior status acquired by their predecessors. New and more superior men will take their place. Leadership in community developments need not remain in the hands of those who were traditionally powerful, the ruling families of many generations standing. Power will shift from time to time to give recognition to emerging entrepreneurs, technicians with greater management skill, and men able to combine scarce resources to advance the development process.[1]

Practice Theory II: The Social Systems Community and Its Development

In Warren's model the development of a community manifests itself as a progressive differentiation of function and structure. Development is partly evidenced in the auspices of community care changing to extra-community institutions and agencies. Development also implies the maintenance of interlinkages between auspices whether they be in the community or outside. Warren identifies two kinds of professionals who are of key importance in guiding the development of a community -- "problem area specialist" and the "permissive community organizer." Development, then, proceeds largely at the direction of those who have superior knowledge of the situations and conditions affecting a community. Because the community caters to all locality-relevant functions, we would expect to find conflict over which developments have precedence. In some cases the group of people whom these developments serve be left wondering about the future course of their community.

It would not be unusual to see agency-based 'community workers'

trying to get the community to legitimize their individual agendas for the community's development. Also, it would not be unusual for these 'problem area specialists' to come into conflict with the wishes of a group of people as expressed through the 'permissive community organizer'.

Warren's view of a community as a system provides the basis for the view that the community, because of its complexity and interlinkages with other systems, is not something to be understood nor directed by those who are not experts. Eaton has followed through from these assumptions in explicating a strategy of development he calls expertism. It will be conceded that the experts could operate on the level of the next strategy--mutualism. In arguing for expertism, I am assuming that horizontal integration is taking place at the level of experts not grass-root citizenry, for reasons of expediency.

Expertism

> The expert ideology assumes that development serves an ideal, a higher purpose. It may be religious, as in the case of missionary programs; utilitarian, as in the case of technical assistance programs; or broadly nationalistic. Leadership goes to those who are identified with the ideal and who have the technical capability to rule in its name. Expertist development leaders tend to invoke sympathetic responses as they are not inherently opposed to democratic processes. They prefer the latter if they lead in the direction of their ideals, and they are unalterably opposed to the Social Darwinist procedure of allowing development to take place on a 'survival of the fittest' basis.
>
> Experts will prefer to consult trusted subordinates [or cohorts] provided this occurs under conditions precluding the formulations of recommendations inconsistent with their mission. They prefer to involve public representatives, but they will resort to programmed democracy, the co-optation of

> pre-selected community leaders who know what is expected of them and note for it in the name of 'the people'. There may be all the forms of democratic participation in policy making --such as voting--but important decisions are predetermined almost like data programmed for computer analysis. 'Representatives' are screened for their amendability to goals the experts think are good for them.[2]

Eaton cites an example of the expertist ideology.

> [At] a study conference on community development held in England in 1957, community development was defined as: 'A movement to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation (of), and if possible on the initiative of, the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active enthusiastic response to the movement'.[3]

Eaton continues:

> Expertist (in contrast to a mutualist) community development adherent believes that in the absence of community response to the technical program deemed necessary, it should be imposed in the name of the ideals which the program is designed to serve in the name of the community's 'greater good'.
>
> Expertism can be observed in contemporary American domestic development programs, as, for instance, the United States Extension Service, the Soil Conservation Service. . . .
>
> While they officially favor mutualism as their ideology, many of their policies reflect an expertist orientation. As a technician, the Extension Agent, the Group Worker or Health Officer thinks he knows what must be done. He prefers to work with local leaders, but if they are apathetic or opposed to what seems technically necessary to accomplish a goal, some of these experts feel that they should try to convert significant segments of the community to accept their objectives. . . .
>
> Expertists justify revolutions as do the Social Darwinists, but such an overthrow of an established ruling group is sanctioned in their minds by their ideals rather than the goal of self-aggrandizement. Expertists also differ from the Social Darwinists in the assumption of how benefits should be distributed. The experts are interested in a social cause. They view themselves as serving the world rather than this world serving them. . . .
>
> Benefits of development are primarily reserved for those who actively support it. Others may get some help incidentally or deliberately in the hope that in time they might be converted to the expert's point of view. However, most expertists have compassion for those who are not yet fit or who may be entirely

> unfit, provided they also believe in the right goal, or, at least, are not opposed to it. They see those unable to participate or to understand the mission's view as persons who may become converted to the ideal and therefore worthy of attention. But unlike the mutualist development leaders, the expertists need not acknowledge their opposition as having equal 'right' to be a divergent point of view. Those who actively oppose the mission of the expertists are viewed as being outside the network of benefits of the development.[4]

Practice Theory III: The Interactional Community and Its Development

In Kaufman's analogy, the development of a community would entail an increase in the variety and number of players on the community stage. This would occur if a high degree of participation were valued as an index of the strength of community solidarity. Development, then, would appear to hinge on 'local' participation towards the improvement. We would expect this type of development to be the most 'grass-roots' in orientation. Eaton calls the strategy that would emerge from these assumptions, mutualism.

Mutualism

Eaton contends that:

> This ideology holds that community development should benefit all inhabitants of an area. Problems are solved by consensus or a majority vote of those affected by a program. There is much emphasis on mutual aid, and a decided preference of voluntaristic participation of citizens in the developmental programs. . . . Leaders are expected to function as enablers, advisors, and catalysts. They may also be hired to direct the implementation of a program. Decision making is by consensus or persons elected or otherwise identified as being representatives of the community. It is they who are to do the planning or who turn it over to civil servants who are responsible to them. Benefits of development, while not necessarily equal, are to accrue to all.[5]

Eaton's outline of three development strategies is summarized in Table 1. Generally the purpose of the next chapter is to discuss some of the implications and questions that arise from the three practice theories described here. A comparison of these three strategies will be reserved for the latter part of the next chapter at which time the meaning of the information summarized in Table 1 will be discussed.

TABLE I

A SUMMARY OF THREE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

	Social Darwinism	Expertism	Mutualism
Authority	Those most fit to be rulers.	Experts.	Representatives of the people.
Planning Personnel	Those most fit to be rulers.	Experts.	Persons delegated by the representatives of the people.
Problem Solving Process	Authoritarian	Programmed democracy of authoritarian.	Enabling, catalyst and democratic.
Distribution of Gains	Very unequal: most to those fit to rule; some to those who work for them.	Unequal: Most to those who cooperate; less to those who do not.	Fairly equitable distribution to all segments of the public.
Distribution of Losses	The unproductive	Those uninterested or opposed in the development.	Fairly equitable distribution to all segments of the public.

Source: J.W. Eaton, "Community Development Ideologies," International Review of Community Development, No. 11 (1963), p. 52.

CHAPTER VIII

FOOTNOTES

1. J.W. Eaton, "Community Development Ideologies," International Review of Community Development, No. 11 (1963), pp. 39-40.
2. Ibid., p. 41.
3. Ibid., pp. 41-42.
4. Ibid., pp. 42-44.
5. Ibid., pp. 44-46.

CHAPTER IX

THE PROFESSION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT -- QUO VADIS?

In Part II of this thesis, what amounts to three practice theories have been presented, each incorporating a sociological perspective and a community development strategy. However, each of the practice theories will be referred to in ensuing discussion by the name given (by J.W. Eaton) to its strategy component. Thus, for example, the practice theory defined by Warren's systems view of community and Eaton's description of an expertist strategy of community development will be called the "expertist practice theory."

The first two chapters of this thesis suggested that theory and practice theory could be used in such a way as to enhance the study and practice of community development. It is the object of this chapter to reconsider some of the uses of practice theory in relation to community development based on the examples of practice theories reported herein. What these examples tell us about the general usefulness of practice theories will be discussed in the first section of this chapter; the second section will take up some of the specific contributions of the three examples to community development. Practice theories <u>are</u> useful and have something to contribute in that they suggest implications and pose questions for community development as a "profession', both in its practice and study (including research) aspects.

Practice Theories and the Community Development Profession

The present endeavour demonstrates that it is possible to develop frameworks which allow the connection of diverse bits of information -- diverse in the sense that community development strategies and sociological perspectives do not normally fall into the same category of study -- which are, nonetheless, relevant to community development. The major advantage of this, as will be repeatedly evident, is that it increases the awareness of choice by presenting alternatives in a more clear-cut manner than hitherto.

'Community development' has existed as a catch-all phrase with many connotations. Practice theories show that the meaning of the term community need not remain amorphous; instead one can see that there are different views as to what a community is, and that these can lead to different modes of practice. Community development, then, does not mean everything and nothing, but potentially as many modes of practice as there are clearly distinguishable conceptions of community. If there is a finite number of clearly distinguishable conceptions of community, this implies that by means of practice theories, we should expect to find a finite number of strategies of community development. Much of the confusion in the 'profession' of community development has arisen as a result of trying to connect everything that is known in community development to everything else in community development and often to knowledge developed in other professions.

What these practice theories show, for example, is that an

ecological view of community does not imply that a mutualist strategy is always appropriate. In the ecological view of community one would not expect much attention to be paid to a study of ethics, values and sensitivity training. By means of practice theories, then, certain bits of knowledge in community development are connected to certain other bits; practice theories reduce the possibility of incongruous bits of knowledge being interconnected. Community development may be seen as a mosaic of practice theories, with each practice theory having certain applicability at certain times and places, depending on the community concept operative.

The benefits of developing practice theories of community development go beyond giving conceptual clarity to a term. From the remarks of Dr. Hynam cited earlier we should expect practical benefits to follow from the reduction of conceptual confusion.

Practice Theories and Community Development Practice

W.B. Whale has said that: "most community development in Canada happens because a government department, a voluntary association, or an educational institution has established objectives and designated resources to meet some kind of development need."[1] Most community workers are, then, agency-based. Each agency presumably conceptualizes community in a way peculiar to its own interests and pursues development along these lines. Practice theories of community development could aid the agency in deciding among the alternatives of 'community' conceptions and thereby realize the implications for development

inherent in that conceptualization. Certain conceptualizations of community could stress the linkages between the state and the community, still others might emphasize the role of voluntary action in the building of community. Each of these conceptions has implications for the way in which community development should be carried out by an agency.

Two facts about agencies should be borne in mind; first, they quite frequently need funding in order to carry out their tasks and the source of funds lie outside the agency and second, an agency employs community workers to accomplish its tasks. Practice theories could allow the people of the funding body, the agency, and the community to achieve an understanding of one another's conceptions of community and what development for each party means. Will community workers continue to 'misunderstand' the intentions of one another, or will each be able to see their own activities in relation to another's? Practice theories do not resolve conflicting values, but at least values can be brought out in the open. The 'profession' of community development will continue to remain loosely defined as long as the conceptual confusion about its aims exists between government, agencies, and community workers.

Earlier it was argued that practice theories order the knowledge about community and the development of community in such a way that practitioners could form beliefs by which to guide their practice.

By permitting a choice among alternative strategies and conceptualizations, practice theories allow the practitioner to examine what he wants to achieve in practice. The assumption made earlier was that the practitioner acts on what he believes about community; effective practices arise from these beliefs. Thus, for example, even though the practitioner may not subscribe to the mutualist practice theory as a way of understanding and dealing with community, at least he has the option of choosing from among other practice theories. Practice theories can also be useful in providing the community with an answer to the question: What is our community and how do we want it to be developed? Effective community development practice arises from the beliefs common to the practitioner and the client-community; 'what is' in a community may not be 'what could be' or 'what should be'. Practice theories provide an alternative conception of community and act in a manner consistent with that conception.

Practice Theories and Community Development Research

The examples of practice theories given in this thesis provide frameworks for conducting community development research. Practice theories, like any theories, provide a starting point for research. The type of research that would emerge is primarily that of testing practice theories against reality. Do communities really behave as the theories say they do? In addition, practice theories permit an exploration of relevant tactics such as adult education, conflict, and small groups as vehicles for change. In what context is it appro-

priate to use these tactics? The value of methods, techniques, and tactics of community development practice can only be appreciated in the light of an understanding of community and its development. This understanding is also vital in the evaluation of community development programmes. If success is equated with achieving a desired form of community, having proceeded along certain lines of development, then whether one can see successes in community development is contingent upon identifying the form of the community before and after development took place. This study suggests that one should assess the effectiveness or success of a particular strategy in terms of the initial concept of community. The introduction of expertist strategies will produce different results; whether the result can be called successful depends upon what was originally desired.

In addition to building frameworks by which to test community development techniques and to conduct evaluation, practice theories more generally show the relevance of applying theory to practice. Practice theories demand an analysis of the assumptions of development. The elements in the field of community development can be identified; these bits of knowledge may be related to one another allowing the observer to focus on selected aspects of community development. In addition, new knowledge and experience can find a context, new techniques can be allied with certain strategies rather than with community development as a whole.

Although the strategies chosen here were devised by a single professional, at least the possibilities of using strategies developed

by other practitioners and linking these with the research of social scientists is evident. The practice theories show the possibility of a collaborative research effort directed to some of the above issues.

Social Darwinism, Expertism, and Mutualism and the Community Development Profession

A dominant impression that arises from the analysis presented in this thesis is that community development is an umbrella term which encompasses in its meaning several distinct assumptions about development, thus leading to markedly distinct strategies of community change. The ends and means, then, of community development have quite a bit of variability and involve, one would assume, the acquisition of many skills.

This thesis questioned whether there is such a thing as a profession of community development. Coombs, Avila, and Purkey inform us that: "A profession is generally defined as a vocation requiring some special knowledge and skill."[2] Given the variability in strategies of the development of community, one wonders whether community development practitioners need to acquire many skills other than the ability to communicate with people. What constitutes the <u>special</u> knowledge and skill of community development? Only three models of community and their implications for development have been presented here; there are many other ways of describing the community and strategies of development. Is all this knowledge part of what an emerging community development practitioner should know? In how many

practice theories must one be competent in order to be a successful practitioner? According to which community model should one be judged? What is the basic core knowledge and what are the specializations of community development? A study of helping done by Coombs reveals that "good practitioners or 'helpers' could be clearly distinguished from poor ones on the basis of some of the concepts they held about people."[3]

The following is a list of characteristics which identifies how good 'helpers' view people.

> 1. Able-unable. Helpers perceive others as having the capacity to deal with their problems. They believe that people can find adequate solutions to events, as opposed to doubting the capacity of people to handle themselves and their lives. . . .
> 2. Friendly-unfriendly. Helpers see others as being friendly and enhancing. They do not regard them as threatening to themselves, but see people as essentially well-intentioned rather than evil-intentioned.
> 3. Worthy-unworthy. Helpers see other people as being worthy rather than unworthy. They see them as possessing a dignity and integrity which must be respected and maintained; they do not see people as unimportant beings whose integrity may be violated or treated as of little account. . . .
> 4. Internally-externally motivated. Helpers see people and their behaviour as essentially developing from within rather than as a product of external events; they see people as creative and dynamic rather than passive or inert. . . .
> 5. Dependable-undependable. Helpers see people as essentially trustworthy and dependable in the sense of behaving in lawful ways. They regard the behaviour of people as understandable rather than capricous, unpredictable, or negative. . . .
> 6. Helpful-hindering. Helpers see people as being potentially fulfilling and enhancing to self rather than impeding or threatening. They regard people as important sources of satisfaction rather than as sources of frustration and suspicion.[4]

Coombs' study involved teachers, counsellors, priests and professors; this orientation is geared to helping individuals rather than communities as a whole.

These characteristics would seem to be congruent with the type of person who would undertake a mutualist strategy, as it seems to have most regard for the individual as a person. The expertist and Social Darwinist strategies emphasize less the ability of individuals to act and decide for themselves, or at least towards the good of all. Presumably they could attract individuals to practice who had a slightly different orientation towards people. Should community development attract only certain kinds of people or all types? This has implications for community development training. Who is invited to receive training? What kind of training is given? What biases about people are emerging practitioners taught as they pursue training?

Our attention is turned to a third issue. Given that community development is a profession, one might ask what sort of problems community development is expected to solve and how in the future community development will solve them. There seems to be two conflicting trends. The first has been led by the United Nations group of agencies which undoubtedly are the key proponents of community development internationally. A document entitled Popular Participation in Development, Emerging Trends in Community Development and edited by the staff of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations was published in 1971 after a 'decade of development'. The publication provides an informative overview of community development activities in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Western Europe, the Caribbean, and North and South America. Drawing on the knowledge and experience of the community development activities in these areas of the world, the editors of Popular Participation have formulated a

number of policy issues which are presented in the Introduction to their document. What is recorded in these policy issues is a changing emphasis in community development practice. These changes occurred mainly in the 1960's but are part of a present trend spearheaded by the United Nations. The first observation made is given in the following quote:

> That village uplift could not be independently realized was all too apparent, given the lack of resources and the resistance of traditional-minded local leadership to the requirements of modernization. Aid from the central government became a necessary condition for rural development. In countries where a tributory relationship existed between the village and central authorities, the implementation of C.D. programs placed strains on this traditional relationship which effectively hampered rural development.[5]

In addition to this is the fact that community development practice:

> . . .was premised on the notion that village uplift was its major goal. While this aim was in keeping with past practices of ameliorating the harsh social conditions of rural life, it was no longer compatible with the requirements of an integrated approach to rural development, which has as its purpose establishing linkages between agriculture and industry and between countryside and city. The built in limitations of the village precluded it from becoming the fulcrum of rural development and in its place there had to be established a larger or regional configuration in which to mount C.D. projects. The establishment of a more viable spatial unit required the building of political, social and economic institutions to supplement -- or where necessary, to supplant --existing village institutions.[6]

This documentation of the 'great change' in communities parallels Warren's thinking in that there is a commentary on the strengthening of what Warren has called the vertical pattern. More and more the community is to be seen in relation to extra-community institutions which give meaning to its existence and shape its future. The reason for this is related to the imperative for development of

the nation. The Popular Participation document states:

> The need for community development activities was intensified by the convergence of a new and larger community represented by the nation, with its own needs and imperatives for existence. The dynamic and competitive international environment, the nascent nation had little choice but to bring about necessary changes in its internal institutions by introducing new technology, by importing new ideas and culture and by making new claims of the individual. Traditional rural communities, with their primitive technology, rigid social organization and parochial loyalties, could not make much contribution to the fulfilment of the needs of the nation. Instead, with the emergence of the national state and the movement toward modernization, the static equilibrium that characterized much of rural society has been undermined. In an effort to save rural community from disintegration, to rescue them from the viscious cycle of stagnation, to enable them to meet the needs of the wider community, national governments in a number of low income countries instituted community development programmes. Communities were to be developed and their economic, social and cultural conditions were to be improved to enable them to contribute fully to national progress and to be integrated into the national life.[7]

The implications for community development practice are quite clear. In order to prevent the community from 'disintegration' or 'stagnation', the community development worker in developing countries ought to ensure that it is linked to extra-community institutions. This approach to community development fits the expertist tradition; what is good for the nation is something that is decided upon by experts and other experts are charged with the responsibility of seeing that the communities of the nations recognize what that good is and are helped to achieve it. This fits in well with Warren's concept of community.

K.R. Schneider, in his article "Reconstitution of Community" assesses the kind of strategy of community development which is embodied in the United Nation's document. He contends that:

> Community development in the emerging nations to date has used the traditional rural community as a means to attain economic progress. One report put it this way, 'The development and mobilization of human resources is central to the concept of community development.' Creation of a 'mobilized' labour force implies a decline of community; rather than its development and 'human resources' implies reducing men to the means of industrial development. By contrast, in the economically advanced countries, where the decline of community has been a fact for two centuries, the various social services which are increasingly called community development now largely aim at recovering casualties of the industrial society. The primary purpose in the first case is to use community to promote economic development. The primary purpose in the second case is to ameliorate the consequences of economic development.[8]

Schneider's ideas reflect a North American counter-culture's view of community, one that is anti-growth, anti-big government and bureaucracy.[9] This view would urge the development of more autonomy in the city neighbourhoods with a greater share in decision-making as it affects the neighbourhood. Public services would be decentralized; the 'people' would have greater say in the delivery of services in order to allow local needs and problems to be dealt with more effectively. Schneider offers another view of community which provides a balance to the United Nations' statements. He believes that community:

> . . .in the twentieth century should affirm the pre-eminence of human association in the structures of human organization which serve isolated functional needs of men and tend to deny meaningful interpersonal relationships. Community should reassert the continuity and integrity of personal membership in group life. . . .
>
> Modern man's need for community centers most crucially upon the absence of a valid middle range of human association, the range largely displaced during the last two centuries' drive to production. . . . The challenge of community is to re-establish a worthy intermediate or 'public' range of association of individuals, between the complete intimacy and protection of the family and the awesome anonymity and performance-governed behaviour of the cosmopolitan society. . . . The potential of community should be considered, rather, as

> an essential counterpoint to industrial society, or to the immensities of the big society. . . . If community is considered worthwhile among men then we are faced with the task of consciously modeling its basic form and establishing the particular conditions upon which it can re-emerge among urbanized men.[10]

In that both argue for the pre-eminence of the small community and a high degree of personal participation, Schneider's view parallels that of the mutualist strategy and Kaufman's view of community.

In the contemporary world the Social Darwinist approach still exists, but among most community development practitioners it is clearly unfashionable. The future directions of community development practice would seem to be moving towards the expertist ideology of the United Nations, although there are definite tendencies by some community development practitioners towards the mutualist approach.

To review, the variability of community development strategies raises several questions: Is community development a profession? If it is a profession, then what sort of people does it attract? What particular sort of people, if any, would make effective community development workers? Where is community development headed? What strategies of community problem solving will become identified with the profession of community development? Will the trend continue away from Social Darwinism towards either mutualism or expertism?

Social Darwinism, Expertism, and Mutualism and Community Development Practice

According to the arguments of Chapter VIII, it is evident that

the three practice theories vary considerably in their expected outcomes of practice and in the strategies used to achieve these outcomes. Using Table 1 of Chapter VIII as a summary of these arguments, we see that the Social Darwinist view of the control of authority and the planning process belong to rulers, those who represent the survival of the fittest. In the expertist view this control belongs to the experts whose superior knowledge implies that only they would know how to handle decision-making. The mutualist view holds that this control belongs to the representatives of the people whom decisions will effect. The community developer is given a choice of working from the top down, with rulers and experts, or from the bottom up, with the grass-roots citizenry. With respect to the process of solving problems, the Social Darwinist would say that of necessity this is a decision which falls in the hands of rulers if they are to maintain their rightful dominant position. Experts might reserve the right to be authoritarian or may consult the people, while the mutualists would likely encourage the people to reach consensus. Again, the community developer has a choice: does he work with an elite or listen to the people? All strategies stress the goal of the people. But distribution of material gains and losses is differentially dealt with as one moves from Social Darwinism to mutualism. Is the community developer willing to align himself with those who will take all the credit for gains and none of the blame for losses? Or is he so closely tied to the citizens that he is willing to share in their gains and losses? Obviously these strategies are sufficiently

diverse in their aims that they could not be put forth simultaneously in a single community. The practitioner must decide whether he wants to implement the one that best suits the community's needs and wants. What is desirable in one community may not be wanted in another. For example, the rise of an elite to a dominant position seen as a consequence of development in Hawley's model, could conflict with a particular community's desire for equal sharing of power. The links with extra-community institutions identified in Warren's view may be at odds with a community's need for autonomy. The high degree of participation identified in Kaufman's conception may be considered of little importance in a racially diverse community. The point is that the practitioner needs to fit the chosen conception of the right strategy to the right community. The prudent practitioner will, then, proceed along one course of action to best reach the goals in view.

As an aid to helping the practitioner decide which particular strategy, if any, he ought to adopt and to bring these assumptions to an open level of awareness, Eaton proposes five questions:

> 1. Is it ethical to impose changes upon people, even if they are good for the people?
> 2. Should urgent reforms be postponed until a majority of the people can agree to support them?
> 3. Can an ignorant and backward population decide what kind of development is good for them?
> 4. Is it advantageous to proceed slowly with a development proposal to obtain majority support?
> 5. Should development benefit those who are opposed to it?[11]

Each practitioner should be able to provide personal answers to those questions; if one's answers are seen as being relative to situations and events, then one would probably adopt an eclectic stance in adopting means to ends.

Social Darwinism, Expertism and Mutualism and Community Development Research

The previous analysis raises several community development research issues. Firstly, the combinations of conceptions and strategies given here remain largely untested and unsubstantiated. They need to be grounded in experience in order to test their validity; that is, do the conceptions of community given here, in reality imply the strategies suggested here? Specifically, the problem is one of determining under what circumstances one strategy is more likely to work than another. Secondly, these practice theories show the pre-paradigmatic nature of community development practice. Still, community development is the pot-pouri of many kinds of practices. Even though practice theories identify the elements included in "community development", the term has many connotations. This relates to the need for identifying the extent to which the term community is unique. To what extent does community cater to all human needs or certain human needs? Which needs are met in a community? To what degree does community development develop the whole range of human potential? If community should provide solution to all human needs, in what ways does it differ from the larger society and its ways of meeting human need? In what ways does community act as an alternative to society in providing those needs which society cannot?

When social scientists can provide answers to these questions, community development will assume more direction as a profession. For the present it is not precisely clear what community development

should do. Practice theories will allow the building of frameworks which will incorporate knowledge and experience in a way meaningful to both students and practitioners of community development. It is the building of these frameworks which permits a comparison of alternative viewpoints which in turn allows choices to be made and answers to be given to the questions confronting the profession. Presumably these choices will be made on the basis of certain presuppositions about man's nature and the ends of community. Perhaps an important question to ask before any other research is undertaken is: To what extent does the rationality provided by such things as practice theories have a bearing on the effectiveness of practice?

CHAPTER IX

FOOTNOTES

1. W.B. Whale, "Critical Questions for the Agency-Based Community Worker" in James A. Draper, ed., Citizen Participation: Canada (Toronto: New Press, 1971), p. 187.

2. Donald L. Avila, Arthur W. Coombs, William W. Purkey, eds., The Helping Relationship Sourcebook (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), p. 3.

3. Ibid., p. 12.

4. United Nations, Popular Participation in Development, Emerging Trends in Community Development (New York: United Nations, 1971), p. 1.

5. Ibid., p. 3.

6. Ibid., p. 11.

7. K.R. Schneider, "Reconstitution of Community," International Review of Community Development, Vol. 15-16 (1960), p. 16.

8. Also see Dennis Hedgepath, The Alternative: Communal Life in New America (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1970) for a more complete statement of these values.

9. K.R. Schneider, op. cit., p. 20.

10. Ibid., p. 27.

11. J.W. Eaton, "Community Development Ideologies," International Review of Community Development, No. 11 (1966), p. 47.

CHAPTER X

A SUMMARY AND PERSONAL EVALUATION

An objective of this thesis was to demonstrate the possibility of providing an answer to the need to integrate the knowledge and experience which confronts the community development professional, whether he be a practitioner or one studying ways of improving practice. The solution given was to suggest the possibility of developing practice theories in order to link more coherently conceptualizations of community with strategies of development. By arranging some of the information pertinent to the development of communities, the practitioner or student is better able to make personal choices among alternative strategies. Starting with three conceptualizations of community and adding three strategies of community development, three practice theories were elaborated. Even though the theories elaborated in the present endeavour need to be tested, they still provide an organization of knowledge which would help a professional to make personal choices. The strategies which emerge from this analysis are sufficiently distinct to arouse further implications and questions for the profession of community development.

The answers that I would like to see given to these questions are along the following lines. I would like to see the idea of developing practice theories more strongly encouraged. I think that this should be a part of the training of practitioners. Here I assume that imposing rationality on practice will improve practice. This I

see as a first step in delimiting the problems which community developers presently tackle. Only when the aims of strategies can be compared can one decide what is to be called community development and what is not.

I would like to see the concept of community delimited to include a description of those structures in various societies and cultures which meet man's need for association. By this I mean a structure that provides both a primary and secondary relationship but which is larger than the family but smaller than society. Community development would mean developing associational structures which provide intimacy and yet a feeling of being part of a larger society. Providing definition to this concept of community is on my own agenda as a student and practitioner of community development.

This choice has been made bearing in mind that I will be working in a North American urban setting with individuals whose primary needs for food and shelter have been met. Contemporary North American society has gone a good way beyond mere survival. One drawback of the specialization of tasks which has permitted this abundance is that it is often difficult for the individual to know where he can seek help. The referrals that are made between agencies and specialists indicate that it is not always that easy to avail oneself of the goods and services today's society provides. Some sort of social structure which will help the individual relate to the larger society is needed; this structure would combat any alienation that arises on the part of the individual. In the formation of this kind of structure it may be

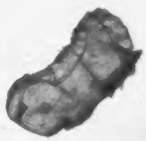
evident that the ability to openly communicate one's difficulties with others may result in the alleviation of the problem. An individual may still need professional advice but he has the option of returning to this intermediary group as a follow up to this advice or in the event of some future problem arising.

If community development is to retain any uniqueness of meaning it should be concerned with the retention of the closely-knit bonds of interaction which characterize the old-style smaller community. In this way community will provide an alternative to some of the drawbacks of our society. I believe that those structures in society which provide "shelter" from the symptoms loneliness and frustration which may emerge as alienation from the larger society, should be given the status of community. I believe that mutualist practice theory provides the best model of this kind of community and how one could achieve it. Community, unlike other structures of society, needs to provide closeness, intimacy and a sense of shared ideals. The expertist and Social Darwinist practice theories would seem to include the agendas of society and even of the nation; the goals and services that these social systems provide can certainly raise the standard of living, but there is no guarantee that they will provide access to society's abundance nor an answer to the need for close associations. I believe that there is the need for intimate association with people beyond one's own family. The emergence of communities to which those in need could go in order to share their concerns and feelings would undoubtedly retard the rate of social

disorganization. I believe that the fostering of these groups should receive endorsement, if not support, by the government and that these groups should be seen as a mechanism for redressing the costs of industrialization and urbanization. I see my own role as a community developer as one who will endeavour to guide the formation of the caring communities that I have described. Much of this job has to do with educating individuals to the fact that their own frustrations and problems are not unique but may, in addition to their own personal deficiencies, be reflective of some of the deficiencies in the way contemporary society deals with problems.

In the Preface, I said that this thesis was a "chapter" in a personal odyssey of inquiry. The inquiry is related to two questions: What is community development as distinct from other disciplines? How can I be an effective community developer? This thesis has been useful to me in allowing me to give more articulate expression to some ideas that I have held since I took up the study of community development. These thoughts have to do with how I might be socially effective. Community development seemed to be a way for me to be socially effective, but its aims were so vague that I began to doubt whether it would provide any answers to social problems. These practice theories have allowed me to give some answers to the two questions related to my inquiry. At this point I plan to follow the mutualist practice theory of community development. I believe that it provides a distinct way in which to be socially effective. This practice theory provides a general strategy; I intend to incorporate

those skills and techniques of community development which I feel are useful to this strategy. In summary, then, practice theories have allowed me to sift through some community development knowledge and to select a conception and strategy of community development which I feel comfortable with as a means to an end.



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